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LECTURES ON THE HISTORY

OF

THE JEWISH CHURCH.

PART I.

ABRAHAM TO SAMUEL.

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WITH MAPS AND PLANS.

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Dedication.

TO THE DEAR MEMORY OF HER,

BY WHOSE FIRM FAITH, CALM WISDOM, AND TENDER SYMPATHY

THESE AND ALL OTHER LABOURS

HAVE FOR YEARS BEEN SUSTAINED AND CHEERED,

THIS WORK,

WHICH SHARED HER LATEST CARE,

IS NOW DEDICATED,

IN SACRED AND EVERLASTING REMEMBRANCE.

PREFACE.

THE contents of this volume, in accordance with a plan which I have set forth elsewhere,[1] consist of Lectures, actually or in substance, addressed to my usual hearers at Oxford, chiefly candidates for Holy Orders. The Twentieth (with some slight variations from its present form) was preached as a sermon from the University Pulpit. These circumstances will account both for the local allusions, and for the practical character of the Lectures, which I have left in most cases as they originally stood.

Throughout the volume I have endeavoured to bear in mind three main objects, indicated in its title.

In the first place, the work must be regarded not as a History, but as *Lectures*. This mode of instruction, besides being that to which I was naturally led by the duties of my Chair, appeared to me specially adapted to the subjects of which I was to treat. In the case of a history so familiar as that of which the materials are for the most part contained in the Bible, and containing, as it does, topics of the most varied interest, the form of Lectures, whilst it avoided the neces-

[1] Introductory Lectures to the History of the Eastern Church, pp. xxvii.–xxxi.

sity of a continuous narrative, enabled me to select the portions most susceptible of fresh illustration and combination, and at the same time most likely to stimulate an intelligent study of the whole. Moreover, there already exists in English a well-known historical narrative of the History of the Jews, which is now, I am glad to hope, on the point of reappearing, with the most recent revisions from the pen of its distinguished author. I trust that the venerable Dean of S. Paul's will add to his many other kindnesses his forgiveness of this intrusion on a field peculiarly his own — an intrusion which would never have been attempted, but in the belief that it would not interfere with those labours which have made his name dear to all who know the value of a genuine love of truth and freedom, combined with profound theological learning and high ecclesiastical station.

Secondly, although for the above reasons abstaining from the attempt to write a consecutive history, I have wished to present the main characters and events of the Sacred Narrative in a form as nearly historical as the facts of the case will admit.

The Jewish History has suffered from causes similar to those which still, within our own memory, obscured the history of Greece and of Rome. Till within the present century, the characters and institutions of those two great countries were so veiled from view in the conventional haze with which the enchantment of distance had invested them, that when the more graphic and critical historians of our time broke through this reserve, a kind

of shock was felt through all the educated classes of the country. The same change was in a still higher degree needed with regard to the history of the Jews. Its sacred character had deepened the difficulty already occasioned by its extreme antiquity. That earliest of Christian heresies—Docetism, or "phantom worship"—the reluctance to recognize in sacred subjects their identity with our own flesh and blood—has at different periods of the Christian Church affected the view entertained of the whole Bible. The same tendency which led Philo and Origen, Augustine and Gregory the Great, to see in the plainest statements of the Jewish history a series of mystical allegories, in our own time has as completely closed its real contents to a large part both of religious and irreligious readers, as if it had been a collection of fables. Many, who would be scandalized at ignorance of the battles of Salamis or Cannæ, know and care nothing for the battles of Beth-horon and Megiddo. To search the Jewish records, as we would search those of other nations, is regarded as dangerous. Even to speak of any portion of the Bible as "a history," has been described, even by able and pious men, as an outrage upon religion.

In protesting against this elimination of the historical element from the Sacred Narrative, I shall not be understood as wishing to efface the distinction which good taste, no less than reverence, will always endeavour to preserve between the Jewish and other histories. Even in dealing with Greek and Roman times, we must beware of an excessive reaction against the old

system of nomenclature. An indiscriminate introduction of modern associations into the ancient or the sacred world is almost as misleading as their entire exclusion. But we shall be best preserved from such dangers by a true understanding of the actual events, persons, and countries of which we profess to speak. And there are so many signs of returning healthiness in regard to Biblical History, that we need not fear for the result. It is one of the many debts of gratitude which the Church of England owes to the author of the "Christian Year," that he was one of the first amongst our divines who ventured in his well-known poems to allude to the scenes and the characters of the Sacred Story in the same terms that he would have used if speaking of any other remarkable history. It is for this reason, amongst others, that I have on all occasions, where it was possible, employed his language — now happily familiar to the whole of English Christendom—to enforce and to illustrate my own descriptions. Similar examples of freely handling these sacred subjects in a becoming spirit may be seen (to select two works, widely differing in other respects) in Dr. Robinson's "Biblical "Researches in Palestine," and the Prefaces to Dr. Pusey's "Commentary on the Minor Prophets." Indeed it may safely be said—and it is the almost inevitable result of an intimate acquaintance with the language, the topography, or the poetry of the Bible — that whoever has passed through any one of these gates into a nearer presence of the truths and the events described, will never again be able to speak of them

with the cold and stiff formality which once was thought their only safeguard.

Thirdly, it has been my intention to make these Lectures strictly "ecclesiastical." The history of the Jewish race, language, and antiquities belongs to other departments. It is the history of the Jewish *Church* of which my office invited me to speak. I have thus been led to dwell especially on those parts of the history which bear directly on the religious development of the nation. I have never forgotten that the literature of the Hebrew race, from which the materials of these Lectures are drawn, is also the Bible — the Sacred Book, or Books, of Christendom. I have constantly endeavoured to remind my hearers and readers that the Christian Church sprang out of the Jewish, and therefore to connect the history of the two together, both by way of contrast and illustration, wherever opportunity offered. Whatever memorials of any particular form or epoch of the Jewish History can be permanently traced in the institutions, the language, the imagery, of either Church, I have endeavoured carefully to note. The desire to find in all parts of the Old Testament allegories or types of the New, has been pushed to such an excess that many students turn away from this side of the history in disgust. But there is a continuity of character running through the career of the Chosen People which cannot be disputed, and on this, the true historical basis of "types" — which is, in fact, only the Greek word for "likenesses"—I have not scrupled to dwell. Throughout I have sought to recognize the identity of

purpose—the constant gravitation towards the greatest of all events—which, under any hypothesis, must furnish the main interest of the History of Israel.

These are the chief points to which I have called attention in my Lectures, and to which I here again call the attention of my readers. There are many collateral questions naturally arising out of the subject, for which the purpose of this work furnishes no scope. Discussions of chronology, statistics, and physical science—of the critical state of the different texts and the authorship of the different portions of the narration—of the precise limits to be drawn between natural and [1]supernatural, providential and miraculous—unless in passages where the existing documents and the existing localities force the consideration upon us, I have usually left unnoticed. I have passed by these questions because I do not wish to disturb my readers with distinctions which to the Sacred writers were for the most part alien and unknown, and which, within the limits of the plan of this wor would be superfluous and inappropriate. The only exception which I have made has been in favour of illustrations from Geography. These, from the circumstance of my having been twice enabled to visit the scenes of Sacred History, I felt that I might be pardoned for offering as my special contribution to the study of the subject, even if they somewhat ex-

[1] For an able statement of this question I venture to refer to an article on "the Supernatural" in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 236, p. 378.

ceeded the due proportion of the [1]rest of the work. On all other matters of this secondary nature, I have been content to rest on the [2]researches of others, and to refer to them for further elucidation. No one will, I trust, suspect me of undervaluing these researches. It is my firm conviction that in proportion as such enquiries are fearlessly pursued by those who are able to make them, will be the gain both to the cause of Biblical science and of true Religion; and I, for one, must profess my deep obligations to those who in other countries have devoted their time and labour, and in this country have hazarded worldly interests, and popular favour, in this noble, though often perilous, pursuit of Divine Truth.

To name any, in a field where so many have contributed to the general result, would be difficult and invidious. But there is one so distinguished above the rest, and so closely connected with the subject of this work, that I must be permitted to express here, once for all, the gratitude which I, in common with many others, owe to his vast labours.

It is now twenty-five years ago since [3]Arnold wrote to Bunsen, "What Wolf and Niebuhr have done for "Greece and Rome, seems sadly wanted for Judæa."

[1] This must be my excuse for the frequent references to another work, *Sinai and Palestine*, which was originally undertaken with the express purpose of a preparation for such a work as is here attempted. I have also ventured to take this opportunity of giving in the Appendix an account of the two most remarkable scenes, which I witnessed in my late journey to the Holy Land,—the visit to the Mosque of Hebron, and the Samaritan Passover.

[2] It will be seen that there is one name constantly recurring here, as in all else that I have written on these subjects. It is an unfailing pleasure to me to refer to Mr. Grove's continued aid—such as I could have received from no one else in like degree—in all questions connected with Sacred history and geography.

[3] Arnold's *Letters*, Feb. 10, 1835 (Life and Correspondence, i. 338).

The wish thus boldly expressed for a critical and historical investigation of the Jewish history was, in fact, already on the eve of accomplishment. At that time Ewald was only known as one of the chief Orientalists of Germany. He had not yet proved himself to be the first Biblical scholar in Europe. But, year by year, he was advancing towards his grand object. To his profound knowledge of the Hebrew language he added, step by step, a knowledge of each stage of the Hebrew Literature. These labours on the prophetic and poetic books of the ancient Scriptures culminated in his noble work on the History of the People of Israel—as powerful in its general conception, as it is saturated with learning down to its minutest details. It would be presumptuous in me either to defend or to attack the critical analysis, which to most English readers savours of arbitrary dogmatism, with which he assigns special dates and authors to the manifold constituent parts of the several books of the Old Testament; and from many of his general statements I should venture to express my disagreement, were this the place to do so. But the intimate acquaintance which he exhibits with every portion of the Sacred Writings, combined as it is with a loving and reverential appreciation of each individual character, and of the whole spirit and purpose of the Israelitish history, has won the respect even of those who differ widely from his conclusions. How vast its silent effect has been may be seen from the recognition of its value, not only in its author's own country, but in France and in England also. One instance may suffice:—the

constant reference to his writings throughout the new "Dictionary of the Bible," to which I have myself so often referred with advantage, and which more than any other single English work is intended to represent the knowledge and meet the wants of the rising generation of Biblical students.

But, in fact, my aim has been not to recommend the teaching or the researches of any theologian however eminent, but to point the way to the treasures themselves of that History on which I have spent so many years of anxious, yet delightful, labour. There are some excellent men who disparage the Old Testament, as the best means of saving the New. There are others who think that it can only be maintained by discouraging all inquiry into its authority or its contents. It is true that the Old Testament is inferior to the New, that it contains and sanctions many institutions and precepts (polygamy, for example, and slavery), which have been condemned or abandoned by the tacit consent of nearly the whole of Christendom. But this inferiority is no more than both Testaments freely recognize; the one by pointing to a Future greater than itself, the other by insisting on the gradual, partial, imperfect character of the Revelations that had preceded it. It is true also that the rigid acceptance of every part of the Old Testament, as of equal authority, equal value, and equal accuracy, is rendered impossible by every advance made in Biblical science, and by every increase of our acquaintance with Eastern customs and primeval history. But it is no less true that by almost every one of these advances

the beauty and the grandeur of the substance and spirit of its different parts are enhanced to a degree far transcending all that was possible in former ages.

My object will have been attained, if, by calling attention to these incontestable and essential features of the Sacred History, I may have been able in any measure to smooth the approaches to some of the theological difficulties which may be in store for this generation; still more if I can persuade any one to look on the History of the Jewish Church as it really is; to see how important is the place which it occupies in the general education of the world — how many elements of religious thought it supplies, which even the New Testament fails to furnish in the same degree—how largely indebted to it have been already, and may yet be, in a still greater degree, the Civilization and the Faith of mankind.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD:
Sept. 16, 1862.

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Errata.

Page 16, line 1, *for* ornaments *read* monuments
„ 49, „ 11, *for* Beersheba *read* land of the Philistines
„ „ note 3, *for* Icoud *read* Ieoud
„ 71, marginal note, *read* Oak of Deborah
„ 89, note 1, *read* Wilk. iv. 290, v. 173.
„ 90, line 6, *read* To whom is it, that
„ „ „ 18, *omit* in history
„ 101, „ 5 from bottom, *for* as *read* and
„ 104, „ 4 from bottom, *for* form *read* termination
„ 123, „ 12, *for* north-west *read* north-east
„ 144, „ 12 from bottom, *for* single *read* simple
„ 177, *omit the note*
„ 196, line 7, *read* which contrasts
„ 204, „ 1, *read* Deut. ii. 1; iii. 31; xxix. 7, 8
„ 270, margin, *for* Contest *read* Contact
„ 408, line 6, *for* is *read* are
„ 414, „ 26, *read* thus:—Biblical use of the term: the more so, as the contracted sense in which it is now popularly employed would exclude from our consideration the most remarkable and characteristic instances of it,—Moses, Samuel, and Elijah, in the Old Testament; John the Baptist and St. Paul in the New.

THE PROPHET then was "the messenger or interpreter of the Divine will." Such, &c.

„ 415, note 7, *for* ב *read* כ
„ 480, line 3 from bottom, for *Hârrân* read *Hărrăn*
„ 480, last line, for *Hărrăn* read *Hârrân*
„ 481, line 1, for *harar* read *harr*

To the illustrations of the Israelite History from Egypt, in Lecture II. p. 44, vi. p. 77, may be added some details which can be found in Brugsch's *Egypt*, i. 56; Sharpe's *History of Egypt*, book ii. § 16; Bunsen's *Egypt*, v. 511, 545, 561; as also the new light thrown upon the Temples of the Sun (as given in Lecture IV. 87) by the complete excavation of the Temple of Edfou.

LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS.

Map of the Migrations of Abraham . . . *to face page* 5

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INTRODUCTION.

THE History of the Jewish Church is divided into three great periods; each subdivided into lesser portions; each with its own peculiar characteristics; each terminated by a signal catastrophe.

The First is that which, reaching back for its prelude into the Patriarchal age, commences, properly speaking, with the Exodus; and then, passing through the stages of the Desert, the Conquest, and the Settlement in Palestine, ends with the destruction of the Sanctuary at Shiloh, and the absorption of the ancient and primitive state of society into the new institution of the Monarchy. It includes the rise of the tribes of Joseph. It is the period often, though somewhat inaccurately, called by the name of the [1] "Theocracy." Its great characters are Abraham, Moses, and Samuel. It embraces the first Revelation of the Mosaic Religion, and the first foundation of the Jewish Church and Commonwealth.

The Second period covers the whole history of the Monarchy. It begins with the first rise of the institution at the close of the aristocracy or oligarchy of the Judges. It includes the Empire of David and Solomon; and then, dividing itself into the two separate streams of the Northern and Southern kingdoms, terminates in the overthrow of Jerusalem and the Temple by the Chaldean armies. It comprehends the great

[1] See Lectures VIII., XVII., XVIII.

developement of the Jewish Church and Religion through the growth of the Prophetic Order, and the first establishment of the Jewish commonwealth as a fixed institution. It is marked by the rise and fall of the tribe of Judah.

The Third period begins with the Captivity. It includes the Exile, the Return, and the successive periods of Persian, Grecian, and Roman dominion. It is marked by the rise of the tribe of Levi in the Maccabean dynasty; by the growth of the Jewish colonies in Egypt, Babylonia, and the West; and, lastly and chiefly, by the formation of the last and greatest developement of the Prophetic Spirit, out of which rose the Christian Church, and the consequent expansion of the Jewish Religion into a higher region; whilst at the same time the dissolution of the existing Church and Commonwealth of Judæa was brought about by the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple, in the war of Titus, and by the final extinction of the national independence, in the war of Hadrian.

The present volume includes the first portion of the History extending from Abraham to [1]Samuel, and will, it is hoped, be followed by two others, bringing down the history to its natural conclusion.

It will be observed that, at the beginning of the several sections, I have prefixed the special authorities treating of the subjects contained in them.

Of course the main bulk of the authorities is to be found in the Canonical Books of the Hebrew Scriptures. It has been at various times supposed that the Books of Moses, Joshua, and Samuel, were all written in their present form by those whose names they bear. This notion, however, has been

[1] From the extreme uncertainty of the chronology during this early period, I have abstained from affixing any dates. In the second and third periods, where the chronology becomes fixed, the case is different.

in former ages disputed both by Jewish and Christian theologians, and is now rejected by almost all scholars. It has no foundation in the several Books themselves, and is contradicted by the strong internal evidence of their contents. To determine accurately the authorship and the dates of these and the other Sacred Writings is a question belonging to the same Biblical Criticism, which has thus modified the opinion just mentioned; and to those who are called to enter into the details of such enquiries I gladly leave the solution of this problem. But there are, meanwhile, certain helps to guide us in the study of the general history, which, though obvious in themselves, often escape the notice of the ordinary theological student.

Comparison of the Sacred Books.

(1.) The history of the Jewish Church and People is not written at length in the Jewish Scriptures in the form in which we should desire ultimately to possess it. The order of the books as they stand in the Canon is often not their real order, nor are the events themselves always related in the order of time. Accordingly, if we wish to have the full account of any event or character, we must piece it together from various books or passages, often separated from each other by considerable intervals. Obvious examples of this are to be found in the illustrations furnished to the life of David by the Psalms, and of the history of the Jewish Kings by the Prophetical writings. Again, portions of the same historical events are related from different points of view, or with fresh incidents, or by implication, in parts of the historical books where we should least expect to find them. Thus the slaughter of Gideon's [1] brothers, and a long untold stage of his career, is suggested by a single allusion, in the existing narrative to events of which the record has not come down to us; the storming of [2] Hebron by Caleb is partly made up from the

[1] Judg. viii. 18. See Lecture XIV.

[2] Josh. xi. 13; Judg. i. 10. See Lecture XII.

Book of Joshua and partly from that of the Book of Judges; the [1] narratives affixed to the end of the Book of Judges must chronologically be transferred to the beginning of the period. Many of these scattered notices are ingeniously collected by Professor Blunt as undesigned evidences to the truth of the history; and, though his arguments are sometimes too fanciful to be safely trusted, yet his method is one of great value to the historical student, and is the same which has been followed out, in a larger and more critical spirit, and with more permanent and fruitful results, in Ewald's reconstruction of the history both of the Judges and of David.

The lost Books.

(2.) The Books of the Old Testament, in their present form, in many instances are not, and do not profess to be, the original documents on which the history was based. There was (to use a happy expression used of late) a "Bible "within a Bible," an "Old Testament before an Old "Testament was written." To discover any traces of these lost works in the actual text, or any allusions to them, even when their substance has entirely perished, is a task of immense interest. It reveals to us a glimpse of an earlier world, of an extinct literature, such as always rouses innocent enquiry to the utmost. Such is the ancient document describing the conquest of the Eastern kings in the 14th chapter of the Book of Genesis; the inestimable fragment of ancient songs in the 21st chapter of the Book of Numbers; the quotations from the Book of Jasher, in the Book of Joshua and the First Book of Samuel. Whenever these glimpses occur, they deserve the most careful attention. We are brought by them years, perhaps centuries, nearer to the events described. We are allowed by them to see something of the construction of the narrative itself. The indications of the origin of the different documents by variations of style,

[1] See Lecture XIII.

by the use of peculiar names and titles, may be too minute to catch the attention of any except a professed Hebrew scholar. But the points to which I now refer are open to the consideration of any careful student.

(3.) Yet, again, we must always bear in mind that the history of the Chosen People is not exclusively contained in the Authorised English version, nor even only in the Hebrew text from which that version is a translation. The Authorised Version, indeed, is a sufficient account of the history for the general purposes of popular instruction. But as no scholar thinks of reading Thucydides even in the best English translation, so no scholar should be satisfied unless he at least endeavours to ascertain how far the English version represents the original. And in proportion to the value we attach to the actual words of the Bible itself, ought to be the care not to over-estimate the words even of the best modern translation. The variations are, perhaps, not important as to the general sense. But as to the precise life and force of each word, (I speak chiefly from my experience of a single department, the geographical vocabulary), they are very considerable; and in a language so pregnant as the Hebrew, involve often serious historical consequences.

The Hebrew text.

The Hebrew text, however, is not our only source of information as to the original materials of the Sacred History. Without arguing the relative merits of the Hebrew and the Septuagint texts, we have no right to set aside or neglect such an additional authority as the Septuagint furnishes. Whatever may be the value of the Hebrew text in itself, or its authority in the present Jewish Church, or the present Church of Western Europe, the Septuagint was the text sanctioned probably by our Lord Himself, certainly by the Apostles, and still acknowledged by the whole East. The Septuagint must, therefore, be regarded as the Old Testament of the Apostolical, and of the early Catholic

The Septuagint.

Church. And, though we may refuse to acknowledge this its co-ordinate authority with the received text of our present Bible, it has at least the value of the very oldest Jewish tradition and commentary on the Sacred Text. Therefore, no passage of the Sacred History can be considered as exhausted unless we have seen how it is represented by the Alexandrian translators; and if, as is often the case, we find variations of considerable magnitude from the Hebrew, such variations may always be regarded, if not as the original account of the matter, at least as explanations and traditions of high antiquity. Such, for example, are the details of the [1] descent of the Eastern kings, of the [2] passage of the Jordan, of the [3] execution of the sons of Saul, of the [4] coronation of Jeroboam. The Jews of Palestine, in their horror of a rival text — perhaps of a translation which should render their sacred books accessible to all the world — held that on the day on which the Seventy Translators met, a supernatural darkness overspread the earth; and the day was to them one of their solemn periods of fasting and humiliation. But to us, who know what the Septuagint was in the hands of the Apostles, as the means of spreading the knowledge of the Old Testament through the Gentile world — who, in the scantiness of any remains of the ancient Jewish literature, gladly welcome any additional information to fill up the void — who feel what a bulwark this double version of the Old Testament furnishes against a too rigid or literal construction of the Sacred History — the Seventy Translators, if not worthy of the high place to which the ancient Church assigned them, may well be ranked amongst the greatest benefactors of Biblical Literature and Free Enquiry.

Heathen traditions.

(4.) There is yet another class of authorities to which I have referred whenever occasion offered. It has been truly

[1] Gen. xiv. 16.
[2] Josh. iv. 20.
[3] 2 Sam. xxi. 16.
[4] 1 Kings xii. xiv.

said that the history of the Chosen People is the history, not of an inspired book, but of an inspired people. If so, any record that has been preserved to us of that people, even although not contained in their own sacred books, is far too precious to be despised. These records are indeed very scanty. They consist of a few fragments of Gentile histories preserved by Josephus, Eusebius, and Clement of Alexandria; a few statements in Justin, Tacitus, and Strabo; a few inscriptions in Egypt and Assyria; the traditions of the East, whether preserved in Rabbinical, Christian, or Mussulman legends; and the traditions of the Jewish Church itself, as preserved by Philo and Josephus. All these notices, unequal in value as they are to each other, or to the records of the Old Testament itself, have yet this use — that they recall to us the existence of the facts, independent of the authority of the Sacred Books. It is true that the larger part of the interest and instruction of the Jewish history would be lost with the loss of the Hebrew Scriptures. But their original influence on the world was irrespective of the Scriptures, and must always continue.

Eastern traditions.

Even had we only the imperfect account of the Jews in Tacitus and Strabo, we should know that they were the most remarkable nation of ancient Asia. This argument applies with still greater force to the traditions of the East, and to the traditions of Josephus. With regard to the former, it is impossible, without greater knowledge than can be obtained by one who is ignorant of Arabic, and who has only visited the East in two or three fugitive journeys, to ascertain how far they have a substantial existence of their own, or how far they are mere amplifications of the Koran and the Old Testament. Some cases — such as the wide-spread prevalence of the name of "Friend" for Abraham, too slightly [1] noticed in the Bible to have been

[1] See Lecture I.

derived from thence, and the importance assigned to the [1] Arabian Jethro or Shouayb — seem to indicate an independent origin. But, whether this be so or not, they continue to form the staple of the belief of a large part of mankind on the subject of the Jewish history, and as such I have ventured to quote them, partly in order to contrast them with the more sober style of the Sacred Records, but chiefly where they fall in with the general spirit of the Biblical narrative, and thus furnish an instructive, because unexpected, illustration of it. Many common readers may be struck by the [2] Persian or Arabian stories of Abraham or Moses, whose minds have by long custom become hardened to the effect of the narrative of the Bible itself.

Josephus.

The traditions of Josephus are yet more significant. It is remarkable that, of his four works, two run parallel to the Old Testament and two to the New. Whilst the histories of "the Wars of the Jews" and of his own "Life" throw a flood of light by contemporary allusions on the time of the Christian era, the "Antiquities" and the "Controversy with Apion" illustrate hardly less remarkably the times of the Older Dispensation. The "Controversy with Apion," indeed, is chiefly important for its preservation of those Gentile traditions to which I have before referred. But the "Antiquities" furnish an example such as hardly occurs elsewhere in ancient literature of a recent history existing side by side with most of the original documents from which it is compiled. It would be a curious speculation, which would test the value of the style and spirit of the Sacred writers, to imagine what would be the residuum of the effect produced by the Jewish history if the Old Testament were lost, and the facts were known to us only through the "Antiquities" of Josephus. His style is indeed a continual foil to that of the Sacred Narrative — his verbosity contrasted with

[1] See Lectures V., VI.

[2] See Lectures I., VIII.

its simplicity, his vulgarity with its sublimity, his prose with its poetry, his uniformity with its variety. But, with all these drawbacks, to which we must add his omissions and emendations, as if to meet the critical eye of his Roman masters, the main thread of the story is faithfully retained; occasionally, as in the case of the [1] death of Moses and of Saul, a true pathos steals over the dull level; occasionally, as in the case of the story of Balaam, a just discernment brings out clearly the moral elevation peculiar to the ancient Scriptures. But there is a yet further interest. His account is filled with variations not to be explained by any of the differences just cited. To examine the origin of these would be an interesting task. Sometimes he coincides with the variations of the Septuagint; and in case where he seems not to have copied from that Version, his statement must be considered as a confirmation of the value of the text which the Septuagint has followed. Sometimes he supplies facts which agree with existing localities, but have no direct connection with the Sacred Narrative either in Hebrew or Greek, as is his account of the mountain (evidently Jebel Attaka) which hemmed in the Israelites at the Red Sea, of the traditional sanctity of Sinai, and of the still existing [2] manna. Sometimes he makes statements which are not found in the narrative itself, but which remarkably illustrate indirect allusions contained either in the history or in other parts of the Old Testament — as, for example, the thunder-storm at the Red Sea, which coincides very slightly with the narrative in Exodus, but exactly and fully with the allusions in the 77th [3] Psalm; or the slaughter in the torrent of Arnon, which has no foundation in the Mosaic narrative, but is the natural explanation of the ancient song preserved in the

[1] *Ant.* iv. 8. § 48.; vi. 14, § 7.
[2] *Ibid.* iv. 6.
[3] *Ibid.* iii.; i. § 6 7; v. 1; ii. xv. 1.

Book of Numbers.[1] In a more critical historian these additions might be considered mere amplifications of the slight hints furnished by the original writers, but in Josephus it seems reasonable (and, in that case, becomes deeply interesting) to ascribe them to an independent source of information, common to the tradition which he used, and to the occasional allusions in the Sacred writers. Sometimes his variations consist simply of new information, capable neither of proof or disproof, but receiving a certain degree of support from the simplicity and probability which distinguishes them from common Rabbinical legends; such as the story of Hur[2] being the husband of Miriam, or of the rite of the red heifer having its origin in her[3] funeral. Finally, other statements exist, which agree with the Oriental or Gentile traditions already quoted, and thus reciprocally yield and receive a limited confirmation; as, for instance,[4] Abraham's connection with the contemplation of the stars, and the[5] great deeds of Moses in Egypt.

Such are the main authorities. In using them for these Lectures, it will sometimes happen that they hardly profess, or can hardly be proved to contain, the statement of the original historical facts to which they relate. But they nevertheless contain the nearest approach which we, at this distance of time, can now make to a representation of those facts. They are the refraction of the history, if not the history itself—the echo of the words, if not the actual words. And, throughout, it has been my endeavour to lay stress on those portions and those elements of the Sacred Story, which have hitherto stood, and are likely to stand, the investigations of criticism,

[1] *Ant.* ii. 16, § 3; iv. 5. § 2.
[2] See Lecture VI.
[3] See Lecture VIII.
[4] See Lecture I.
[5] See Lecture V.

and from which may be drawn the most solid instruction for all times.

There may be errors in chronology—exaggerations in numbers—contradictions between the different narratives. These may compel us to relinquish one or other of the numerous hypotheses which have been formed respecting the composition or the inspiration of the Old Testament. But as they would not destroy the value of other history, so they need not destroy the value of this history because it relates to Sacred subjects; or prevent us from making the very most of those portions of it which are undeniably historical, or full of the widest and most permanent lessons, both for "the example of life and instruction of manners," and for "the establishment of" true religious "doctrine."

THE PATRIARCHS.

I. THE CALL OF ABRAHAM.
II. ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.
III. JACOB.
IV. ISRAEL IN EGYPT.

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES FOR THIS PERIOD.

1. Gen. xi. 27–l. 26 (Hebrew and Septuagint); Josh. xxiv. 2-15; Neh. ix. 7, 8; Ps. cv. 6-23; Hos. xii. 3, 4, 12; Isa. li. 2.
2. The earlier Jewish traditions: in Ecclus. xliv. 19-23; Judith v. 6-11; Acts vii. 1-16; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 7–ii. 8; Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami*, *De Abrahamo*, and *De Josepho*.
3. The Heathen traditions preserved by Berosus, Nicolaus of Damascus, Hecatæus of Abdera, Cleodemus Malchus (in Josephus, *Ant.* i. ch. 7, 15), Eupolemus, Artapanus, Apollonius Melon, Alexander Polyhistor, Theodotus, Aristæus, and Demetrius (in Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 16-25), Justin (xxxvi. 2).
4. The later Jewish traditions in the Talmud and the Targum Pseudo-jonathan; and collected in Otho's *Lexicon Rabbinico-philologicum* (Altona, 1757), and in Beer's *Leben Abrahams* (Leipsic, 1859).
5. The Mussulman traditions scattered throughout the Koran, collected in D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale* ("Abraham;" "Ishak;" "Jacob;" "Jousouf"); and conveniently arranged in Lane's *Selections from the Kur-án*, §§ 12, 13: Weil's *Biblical Legends* (London, 1846), pp. 47–90: and Jalal-addín, *Hist. of Temple of Jerus.* (London, 1836), ch. xi–xv. The Persian legends in Hyde, *De Religione Veterum Persarum*, ch. 2, 3.
6. The Christian traditions: in Fabricius' *Codex Pseudepigraphus Vet. Testamenti*, pp. 311-800: Suidas, *Lexicon* ("Abraham").

THE PATRIARCHS.

LECTURE I.

THE CALL OF ABRAHAM.

THE Patriarchal Age is not in itself the beginning of the history of the Jewish Church or nation. That, as we shall see, has its origin from Moses. But the more primitive period is the necessary prelude of that history, because it contains the earliest distinct beginnings of the Jewish Religion and of the Jewish race. It is in this sense that the first event in this period may fitly be treated as the opening of all Ecclesiastical History, as the first historical commencement of a religious community and worship, which has continued ever since, without interruption, into the Christian Church, such as, with all its manifold diversities, it now exists. This event, according as it is apprehended from its human or its Divine side, may be described as "the Migration," or as "the Call" of Abraham. In every crisis of history these two elements in their measure may be perceived, the one secular, the other religious; the one belonging merely to the past, the other reaching forward into the remotest future. In this instance, both are set distinctly before us in the Biblical narrative, side by side, as if in almost unconscious independence of each other. "*And "Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran*

"*his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son* "*Abram's wife; and they went forth with them* [LXX. "he "led them"] *from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of* "*Canaan: and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there.* ". . . *And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his* "*brother's son, and all their substance that they had ga-* "*thered, and the souls that they had gotten* [the slaves "that they had bought] *in Haran; and they went forth to* "*go into the land of Canaan; and into the land of Canaan* "*they came.*" This is the external aspect of the [1]Migration. A family, a tribe of the great Semitic race, moves westward from the cradle of its earliest civilisation. There was nothing outwardly to distinguish them from those who had descended from the Caucasian range into the plains of the south in former times, or who would do so in times yet to come. There was, however, another aspect which the surrounding tribes saw not, but which is the only point that we now see distinctly. "*The Lord 'said'*[2] *unto Abram, Get thee out of thy* "*country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's* "*house, unto a land that I will show thee: and I will make* "*of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy* "*name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: and I will bless* "*them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and* "*in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.*" Interpret these words as we will; give them a meaning more or less literal, more or less restricted; yet with what a force do they break in upon the homeliness of the rest of the narrative: what an impulse do they disclose in the innermost heart of the movement: what a long vista do they open, even to the very close of the history, of which this was the first beginning!

[1] This is the title of Philo's first treatise on Abraham.

[2] The tense in the English version, "had said," is an alteration of the text, probably to meet the statement of Acts vii. 2.

THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM

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Let us then follow the example of the sacred narrative by drawing out both these views of the event. Take, first, its outward character as a national or migratory movement.

The Migration.

I. The name of Abraham, as we shall afterwards see more fully, is not confined to the Sacred History. Over and above the Book of Genesis, there are two main sources of information. We have the fragments preserved to us by Josephus and Eusebius from Greek or Asiatic writers. We have also the Jewish and Mussulman traditions, as represented chiefly in the Talmud and the Koran. It is in the former class—those presented to us by the Pagan historians — that the migration of Abraham assumes its most purely secular aspect. They describe him as a great man of the East, well read in the stars, or as a conquering Prince who swept all before him on his way to Palestine. These characteristics, remote as they are from our common view, have nevertheless their point of contact with the Biblical account, which, simple as it is, implies more than it states.

Ur of the Chaldees.

In the darkness of this distant past, the most distinct images we can now hope to recall are those of the place and scene of the event. Where was "Ur of the [1] Chaldees?" It would seem at first sight as if this, the most solid footing on which we could rely, shifted beneath our feet so rapidly as to deprive us of any standing ground whatever. The name itself of "Chasdim" or "Chaldæa" has, in the progress of centuries, descended like a landslip from the northern Armenian mountains, to which it originally belonged, into the southern limits of Mesopotamia, which claimed it in after times. This is the first source of confusion. Is it the northern or southern, the ancient or the more recent Chaldæa, of which we are speaking? But, besides this, the name of Ur

[1] "Ur Chasdim," i. e. "Ur of the people of Chesed"— as it is expressed in the original.

also seems to have been sown broadcast over the whole region. One is pointed out near Nisibis, another near Nineveh; a third and fourth have lately been found in the neighbourhood of Babylon. It is perhaps the most probable solution that the name originally meant (as the Septuagint translators have rendered it) a country rather than a place. But no arguments advanced, even by the high authority of recent discoverers, seem as yet sufficiently established to disturb the old and general tradition which fixes the chief centre of the early movements of the tribe of Abraham at the place variously known as Orfa, Roha, Orchoe, Callirhoe, Chaldæopolis, Edessa, Antioch of the far East, [1]Erech, Ur; and, were it more in doubt than it is; the singular ecclesiastical position occupied by this city of many names calls for a few words in passing.

rfa. In Christian times, it was celebrated as the capital of Abgarus, Agbarus, or Akbar, who received, according to the ancient tradition, the letter and portrait of our [2]Saviour, and thus became the first Christian king. Gradually it was invested with a sacred preeminence, as the cradle, the university, the metropolis of the Christianity of the remote East. Within its walls lived and died and is buried the chief saint of the Syrian Church, Ephrem, Deacon of Edessa. In its neighbourhood, in strange conformity with its earliest history, wandered a race of hermits, not monastic or cœnobitic, but nomadic and pastoral, who took to the desert life, and almost [3] literally grazed like sheep on the desert herbage. In later times, yet again, it became the seat of a Christian principality under the chiefs of the First Crusade. But whilst these later glories of Edessa are gathered from books, the

[1] Bayer, *Historia Osrhoene et Edessena*, 3.

[2] A well was shown in Pococke's time (*Travels*, i. 160), in which the messenger, attacked by thieves, dropped the letter, which gave the spring a miraculous character.

[3] Tillemont, *S. Ephrem*, ch. 16, 17.

stories of Abraham alone still live in the mouths of the Arab inhabitants of Orfa, and in the peculiarities of its remarkable situation. The city lies on the edge of one of the bare, rugged spurs which descend from the mountains of Armenia into the Assyrian [1] plains, in the cultivated land which, as lying under those mountains, is called Padan-Aram. Two physical features must have secured it, from the earliest times, as a nucleus for the civilisation of those regions. One is a high crested crag, the natural fortification of the present citadel, doubly defended by a trench of immense depth, cut out of the living rock behind it. The other is an abundant [2] spring, issuing in a pool of transparent clearness, and embosomed in a mass of luxuriant verdure, which, amidst the dull brown desert all around, makes, and must always have made, this spot an oasis, a paradise, in the Chaldæan wilderness. Round this sacred pool, "The Beautiful Spring," "Callirhoe," as it was called by the Greek writers, gather the modern traditions of the Patriarch. Hard by, amidst its cypresses, is the mosque on the spot where he is said to have offered his first prayer: the cool spring itself burst forth in the midst of the fiery furnace [3] which the infidels had kindled to burn him; its sacred fish, swarming by thousands and thousands, from their long continued preservation, are cherished by the faithful as under his special patronage; the two Corinthian columns which stand on the crag above are made to commemorate his deliverance. In the first centuries of the Christian era we know that other memorials of the Patriarchal age were pointed out. The year of Abraham was long adopted in Edessa as the epoch of its [4] dates. Josephus

[1] Olivier (*Voyage à Syrie*, iv. 329) gives a good description of the several zones of Mesopotamia.

[2] At times it swells into a flood, and is hence called Daizon or Scirtus ("the leaper"), Bayer, 14.

[3] This probably arose from a misconception of the words "He came out "of Ur," *i.e.* "the light," or "fire."

[4] Bayer, 24.

speaks of the sepulchre of Haran, still shown in his time at Ur: Eusebius[1] speaks of the tent which Jacob inhabited whilst feeding the flocks of Laban, as preserved till it was accidentally burnt by lightning in the second century. But, apart from all such transitory and doubtful reminiscences as these, we may well believe that the high rock, the clear spring, the burst of verdure, must have as truly made this (such might be a possible interpretation of the name) "*the light of the race of Arphaxad*" (Ur Chasdim), as the like circumstances made Damascus "the eye of the East"; and amongst the countless sepulchres which fill the rocky hill[2] behind the city, some may reach back to the earliest times of human habitation and interment.

From this spot, invested with a tender attractiveness from which even the passing traveller[3] reluctantly tears himself away, we may believe that the family of Abraham were called. Was it, as according to "Josephus,"[4] the grief of Terah over the untimely death of Haran? Was it, as according to the tradition followed by Stephen, that the higher call had already been made to[5] Abraham? We know not. We are told only that they went southward: they went upon the track which Chaldæans, and Medes, and Persians, and Curds, and Tartars, afterwards in long succession followed, as if towards the rich plains of Nineveh or of Babylon.

Haran. One day's journey from Ur, if Orfa be Ur, was the spot which they chose for their encampment[6]—Haran, Charran,

[1] Chron. 22.

[2] It is now called "Top-dag," the hill of the cannon. Olivier, iv. 226.

[3] I owe this, and much else of the impressions of Orfa (which I have not myself visited), to the kind information of two recent travellers.

[4] Jos. *Ant.* i. 7, 1.

[5] Acts vii. 4. Philo, i. 464; perhaps Neh. ix. 7.

[6] Visible from Orfa almost at all times (Ainsworth, *Assyria, Babylonia, Chaldæa*, 153). The surrounding country is well described in Merivale's *Hist. of Romans under the Empire*, i. 520, and, with elaborate learning, in Chwolson's *Ssabier*, i. 304.

Carrhæ. That it was a place of note may be gathered from its long continued name and fame in later days. As the sanctuary of the Moon goddess, it was, far into the Roman Empire, regarded as the centre of Eastern Paganism, in rivalry to Edessa, the centre of Eastern Christendom. It was the scene, too, of the memorable defeat of Crassus. But no modern traveller, up to the present time, has left a written account of this world-old place. There is hardly anything to tell us why it was fixed upon either as the scene of that fierce conflict, or as the scene of the Patriarchal settlement. Only we observe that it is the point of divergence between the great [1] caravan routes towards the various fords of the Euphrates on the one hand, and the Tigris on the other; and therefore must have had some marked features to make it a fitting encampment both for Roman general and Chaldæan Patriarch. Beside the settlement, too, were the [2] wells, round which for the next generations one large portion of the tribe of Terah continued to linger; and the settlers in the distant west are described as still retaining their affection for the ancient [3] sanctuary, where the father of their race was buried, and whence they sought, according to the true Arabian usage, their own kinswomen and cousins in marriage.

Passage of the Euphrates

But for the highest spirit of the Patriarchal family Haran could not be a permanent abiding place. "The great river," "*the* river," as his descendants called it, the river Euphrates, rolled its vast boundary of waters between him and the remote country to which his steps were bent. Two days' journey brought him to the high chalk cliffs which overlook the wide western desert. Broad and strong lay the great stream beneath and between. He crossed over it, pro-

[1] Ritter, vii. 296. As such it seems to be mentioned in Ezekiel xxvii. 23.

[2] Nieb. *Trav.* ii. 410. Gen. xxix. 2.

[3] Gen. xi. 31, xxix. 4. Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. 413.

bably near the same point where it is still [1] forded. He crossed it, and became (such at least was one interpretation always put upon the word) Abraham, "*the Hebrew*," the man who had *crossed* [2] the river flood — the man who came from *beyond* the Euphrates.

Damascus. For seven days' journey [3] or more, the caravan would advance along what is still the main desert road to Syria. Nothing is said in history of their route. It is but an etymological legend which connects Aleppo [4] with the herds of the Patriarch's pastoral tribe. They neared the range of the Lebanon which screened the Holy Land from their view; and underneath its shade they rested, for the last time, in [5] Damascus. It is curious that whilst the connection of Abraham with this most ancient of cities is almost entirely derived from extraneous sources, it is yet sufficiently confirmed by the sacred narrative to be worthy of credit. "Abraham," we are told, "was king of [6] Damascus." He had crossed the desert with his tribe, as not many years afterwards came Chedorlaomer and the kings of the East; and, as they descended on the green oasis of Siddim, so this earlier conqueror established himself in the green oasis of Damascus, the likeness, on a larger scale, of his own native Ur. In later ages his name was still honoured in the region; and a spot pointed out as "Abraham's dwelling-place." And in the primitive play on the name [7] of Abraham's faithful slave,

[1] Zeugma, the ancient passage, was a little west of the present passage at Birs. Olivier (iv. 215) compares it in size and rapidity to the Rhone.

[2] LXX. Gen. xiv. 13, ὁ περάτης. Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, i. 108.

[3] Gen. xxxi. 23. Ritter, *West Asia*, vii. 296.

[4] "Haleb," the milk of Abraham's cow. See the legend in Porter's *Handbook of Syria*, 613.

[5] Compare the descent of the Aramæans on Damascus from Kir in Armenia, Amos ix. 7.

[6] Justin, xxxvi. 2. Nicolaus of Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* i. 7, 2).

[7] Gen. xv. 2. Ewald, i. 366. It is lost in the English, but preserved in the Greek, version — "This son of Masek is Damasek Eliezer." The Arab tradition makes Eliezer's name to have been "Dimshak," and the origin of the name of the city. D'Herbelot, "Abraham" and "Damaschk," i. 209.

preserved in the sacred record, we have a guarantee of the close tie which subsisted between the patriarch and his earliest conquest. "Eliezer of Damascus" was the lasting trophy of his victory.

As we pause at this last halting-place before his entrance into Palestine, let us look more fully in the face the great character that we have brought thus far on his way.

Likeness to the Arabian chiefs.

Not many years ago much offence was given by one, now a high dignitary in the English Church, who ventured to suggest the original likeness of Abraham, by calling him a Bedouin Sheykh. It is one advantage flowing from the multiplication of Eastern travels that such offence could now no longer be taken. Every English pilgrim to the Holy Land, even the most reverential and the most fastidious, is delighted to trace and to record the likeness of patriarchal manners and costumes in the Arabian chiefs. To refuse to do so would be to decline the use of what we may almost call a singular gift of Providence. The unchanged habits of the East render it in this respect a kind of living Pompeii. The outward appearances, which in the case of the Greeks and Romans we know only through art and writing, through marble, fresco, and parchment, in the case of Jewish history we know through the forms of actual men, living and moving before us, wearing almost the same garb, speaking in almost the same language, and certainly with the same general turns of speech and tone and manners. Such as we see them now, starting on a pilgrimage or a journey, were Abraham and his sister's son, when they "went forth" to go into the land of Canaan. "All their substance that they had "gathered" is heaped high on the backs of their kneeling camels. The "slaves that they had bought in Haran" run along by their sides. Round about them are their flocks of sheep and goats, and the asses moving underneath the towering forms of the camels. The chief is there, amidst the stir of

movement, or resting at noon within his black tent, marked out from the rest by his cloak of brilliant scarlet, by the fillet of rope which binds the loose handkerchief round his head, by the spear which he holds in his hand to guide the march, and to fix the encampment. The chief's wife, the princess[1] of the tribe, is there in her[2] own tent, to make the cakes, and prepare the usual meal[3] of milk and butter: the slave or the child is ready to bring in the red[4] lentile soup for the weary hunter, or to kill the calf for the unexpected[5] guest. Even the ordinary social state is the same: polygamy, slavery, the exclusiveness of family ties; the period of service for the dowry of a wife; the solemn obligations of hospitality; the temptations, easily followed, into craft or falsehood.

In every aspect, except that which most concerns us, the likeness is complete between the Bedouin chief of the present day, and the Bedouin chief who came from Chaldæa nearly four thousand years ago. In every aspect but one: and that one contrast is set off in the highest degree by the resemblance of all besides. The more we see the outward conformity of Abraham and his immediate descendants to the godless, grasping, foul-mouthed Arabs of the modern desert, nay even their fellowship in the infirmities of their common state and country, the more we shall recognize the force of the religious faith, which has raised them from that low estate to be the heroes and saints of their people, the spiritual fathers of European religion and civilization. The hands are the hands of the Bedouin Esau; but the voice is the voice of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,—the voice which still makes itself heard across deserts and continents and seas; heard wherever there is a conscience to listen, or an imagina-

[1] "Sarah" = princess. "Sarai" = my princess.
[2] Gen. xxiv. 67.
[3] Gen. xviii. 2–8.
[4] Gen. xxv. 34.
[5] For the Arab life in Chaldæa, see Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 156.

tion to be pleased, or a sense of reverence left amongst mankind.

II. What then is the position which has been accorded to Abraham by the general witness of history? What was it which caused his own nation to make their highest boast of a descent[1] from him? which caused them to look forward to the rest in his bosom[2] as the fitting repose of wearied souls that have escaped from the toil of their earthly pilgrimage?

The answer may best be given by considering the two names by which he is known in the traditions of the East, and which, though they only occur once or twice in Scripture, yet so well correspond to its whole representation of Abraham, that they may fitly be taken as his distinguishing characteristics.

The Friend of God.

1. First, he is "the Friend of God." "El-Khalil-Allah," or, as he is more usually called, "El-Khalil," simply, "the [3]Friend," is a title which has in Mussulman countries superseded altogether his own proper name. In many ways it has a peculiar significance. It is, in its most general aspect, an illustration of the difference which has been well remarked between the early beginnings of Jewish history and those of any other ancient nation. Grant to the uttermost the uncertain, shadowy, fragmentary character of these primitive records, yet there is one point brought out clearly and distinctly. The ancestor of the Chosen People is not, as in the

[1] It was a tradition that the Hebrew letters were given by him; and that *Aleph* stood first as being the first letter of his name. (Suidas in voce "Abraham.") Artapanus (in Eus. *Præp.* ix. 18) derives the name "Hebrew" from that of Abraham.

[2] See Lightfoot on Luke xvi. 22.

[3] See D'Herbelot ("Abraham"), for its precise import. The name of Abraham was interpreted by Apollonius Melon (Eus. *Præp.* ix. 19) as "Friend of the Father." In Scripture it occurs only in James ii. 23; "He was called the friend of God:" and more doubtfully in Isaiah xli. 8; "Jacob whom I have chosen, the "seed of Abraham my friend:" 2 Chron. xx. 7; "The seed of Abra-"ham my friend." In Clem. Rom. (*Ep.* i. 10) he is called, simply "the friend," Ἀβραὰμ ὁ φίλος προσαγορευθείς. In Gen. xviii. 17, Philo (i. 40) reads "friend" for "servant."

legends of Greece and Rome, or even of Germany, a god or a demi-god, or the son of a god: he is, as we have just observed, a mere man, a chief, such as those to whom these records were first presented, must have constantly seen with their own eyes. The interval[1] between the human and divine is never confounded. Close as are the communications with Deity, yet the Divine Essence is always veiled, the man is never absorbed into it. Abraham is "the Friend," but he is nothing more. He is nothing more; but he is nothing less. He is "the Friend of God." The title includes a double meaning. He is "beloved of God." "Fear not, Abram, I am "thy shield and thy exceeding great reward." He was "chosen"[2] by God: he was "called"[3] by God. Although in the word "ecclesia," in its religious sense, the etymological meaning, as "of an assembly *called forth by the herald*," is lost in the general idea of "a congregation," yet this original meaning gives a fitness to the consideration that he who was the first in the succession of the "ecclesia," or "church," was so by virtue of what is known in all subsequent history as his "call." The word itself, as applied to the summons which led the Patriarch forth, rarely occurs in the sacred writers. But it gathers up in a short compass the chief meaning of his first appearance. In him was exemplified the fundamental truth of all religion, that God has not deserted the world; that His work is carried on by His chosen instruments; that good men are not only His creatures and His servants, but His friends. In those simple words in which the Biblical narrative describes "the call," whatever there is of truth in the predestinarian doctrine of Augustine and of Calvin finds its earliest expression.

The call of God.

But the further meaning involved in the title of Abraham

[1] This is well brought out in Dean Milman's *History of the Jews*, i. 23. Contrast the attempt of the legends to invest Abraham with a supernatural character.

[2] Neh. ix. 7: "Thou didst choose "Abram."

[3] Isaiah li. 2: "I called him." Heb. xi. 8: "He was called to go "out."

indicates the correlative truth, — not only was Abraham beloved by God, but God was "beloved by him"; not only was God the Friend of Abraham, but Abraham was "the friend of God." To expand this truth is to see what was the religion, the communion with the Supreme, which raised Abraham above his fellow-men.

Belief in God.

The greater histories of the Christian Church usually commence with dissertations on the state of the heathen world at the time of the birth of Christ. Something analogous to this ought, if it were possible, to be in our minds in conceiving the rise of the Jewish Church in the person of Abraham. But it would be of a totally different kind; it would belong to the province rather of philosophy than of history. We must transport ourselves back to that primeval time of which so lively a picture has lately been furnished[1] from the results of philological research; of which, in the European world, we see perhaps the last traces in Homer, but of which still later memorials were preserved in the New World in the Peruvian worship, even down to the sixteenth century, when it was seen and elaborately described by the first Spanish[2] discoverers. The objects of nature, especially the heavenly bodies, were then invested with a "glory" and a "freshness" which has long since "passed away" from the earth; they seemed to be instinct with a divinity, which exercised an almost irresistible fascination over their first beholders. "The sight of the sun when "it shined, and of the moon walking in[3] brightness," was a temptation as potent to them as to us it is inconceivable; "their heart was secretly enticed, and their hand kissed "their mouth." There was also another form of idolatry, though less universal in its influence. "There were giants "on the earth in those days;" giants, if not actually, yet by their colossal strength and awful majesty: the Pharaohs and

Worship of the heavenly bodies.

[1] Professor Müller's "Comparative Mythology," in *Oxford Essays*, 1856.

[2] See Helps' *Spanish Conq.* iii. 488.

[3] Job xxxi. 26, 27.

Worship of the kings.

Nimrods, whose forms we can still trace on the ornaments of Egypt and Assyria in their gigantic proportions, the mighty hunters, the royal priests, the deified men. From the control of these powers, before which all meaner men bowed down, from the long ancestral prepossessions of "country "and kindred and father's house," the first worshippers of One who was above all alike had painfully to disentangle themselves. It is true that Abraham hardly appears before us as a prophet[1] or teacher of any new religion. As[2] the

[1] He is so called incidentally, Gen. xx. 7, and perhaps Ps. cv. 15. He is also "a prophet" (Nabi) in the Mussulman traditions.

[2] I cannot forbear, in illustration of these statements, to refer to a far more forcible and exact exposition of it which appeared (since the delivery of this Lecture) in an Essay on *Semitic Monotheism* (in The Times of April 14 and 15, 1860) by Professor Max Müller. "How is the fact "to be explained that the three great "religions of the world in which the "Unity of the Deity forms the key-"note are of Semitic origin? . . . . "Mohammedanism, no doubt, is a "Semitic religion; and its very core is "Monotheism. But did Mohammed "invent Monotheism? Did he invent "even a new name of God? Not at "all. . . . And how is it with Chris-"tianity? Did Christ come to preach "faith in a new God? Did He or "His disciples invent a new name of "God? No. Christ came not to de-"stroy, but to fulfil, and the God "whom He preached was the God of "Abraham. And who is the God of "Jeremiah, of Elijah, and of Moses? "We answer again, 'the God of Abra-"ham.' Thus the faith in the One "Living God, which seemed to re-"quire the admission of a monotheistic "instinct, grafted in every member "of the Semitic family, is traced back "to one man, to him, 'in whom all "the families of the earth shall be "blessed.'—And if from our earliest "childhood we have looked upon "Abraham, the Friend of God, with "love and veneration . . . his vener-"able figure will assume still more "majestic proportions, when we see "in him the life-spring of that faith "which was to unite all the nations "of the earth, and the author of that "blessing which was to come on the "Gentiles through Jesus Christ. And "if we are asked how this one Abra-"ham passed through the denial of "all other Gods, to the knowledge of "the one God, we are content to an-"swer that it was by a special divine "revelation . . . . granted to that "one man, and handed down by him "to Jews, Christians, and Moham-"medans . . . to all who believe in "the God of Abraham. . . . . We "want to know more of that man "than we do; but even with the little "we know of him, he stands before us "as a figure second only to One in the "whole history of the world."

"Abraham," says Baron Bunsen, "is the Zoroaster of the Semitic race; "but he is more than the Zoroaster, "in proportion as his sense of the "divine was more spiritual, and more "free from the philosophy of nature, "and the adoration of the visible "world."—*Bibelwerk*, ii. 88.

Scripture represents him, it is rather as if he was possessed of the truth himself, than as if he had any call to proclaim it to others. His life is his creed; his migration is his mission. But we can hardly doubt that here the legendary tales fill up, though in their own fantastic way, what the Biblical account dimly implies. He was, in practice, the Friend of God, in the noblest of all senses of the word; the Friend who stood fast when others fell away. He is the first distinct historical witness, at least for his own race and country, to Theism — to Monotheism, to the unity of the Lord and Ruler of all against the primeval idolatries, the *natural* religion of the ancient world. It may be an empty fable that Terah was a maker of idols, and that Abraham was cast by Nimrod into a burning fiery furnace for refusing to worship him. But even in the Book of Joshua we read that the original fathers of the Jewish race who dwelt beyond the Euphrates served [1]other gods, and the deliverance implied in the call indicates something more than a mere change of state and [2]place. We may be forgiven if we supply the void by a well-known legend, which has left its traces in almost every [3]traditional account of Abraham. The scene is sometimes laid in Ur, sometimes in the celebrated hill above [4]Damascus. The story is best told in the words of the Koran. "*When night overshadowed him, he saw a star, and said,* "'*This is my Lord.*' *But when it set, he said,* '*I like not* "*those that set.*' *And when he saw the moon rising, he* "*said,* '*This is my Lord.*' *But when the moon set, he an-*"*swered,* '*Verily if my Lord direct me not in the right*

Abraham the first teacher of the Unity of God.

[1] Joshua xxiv. 2, 14. One interpretation of "Ur" (light) is that it was the seat of the sun-worship: as it certainly was in the fourth century. Bayer, 4.

[2] See Judith, v. 7, 8, a statement independent of Genesis.

[3] Philo, ii. 12. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 7, 1; Suidas (*in voce* "Abraham"); the Talmud and Midrash (where it is founded on Isa. xli. 2). See Beer's *Leben Abrahams*, 102. Koran, vi. 74–82.

[4] Ibn Batuta, 231.

"*way, I shall be as one of those who err.*' *And when he* "*saw the sun rising, he said,* '*This is my Lord. This is* "*greater than the star or moon.*' *But when the sun went* "*down, he said,* '*O my people, I am clear of these things.* "*I turn my face to Him who hath made the heaven and* "*the earth.*'" It is an illustration of this ancient legend that many ages afterwards another dweller in Ur of the Chaldees, that Syrian saint of whom I have before spoken, Ephrem of Edessa, relates[1] that once coming out of the city very early in the morning with two of his companions, he gazed upon the heavens, spangled with bright stars. Their brilliancy struck him as they had struck the Chaldæan shepherd of old; and he said, "If the brightness of these "stars be so dazzling, how will the saints shine when "Christ shall come in glory!" What a world of new hopes new fears, new prospects, lies between the reflection of the primitive patriarch and the reflection of the Christian saint.

The Father of the Faithful;

2. This leads us to the second name by which Abraham is known, "The Father of the [2]Faithful." Two points are involved in this name also. First, he was himself "the Faithful." In him was most distinctly manifested the gift of "faith." In him, long, long before Luther, long before Paul, was it proclaimed in a sense far more universal and clear than the "paradox" of the Reformer, not less clear and

His faith.

universal than the preaching of the Apostle, that "man is justified by faith." "*Abraham believed in the Lord and* "*He counted it to him for* [3]*righteousness.*" Powerful as is the effect of these words when we read them in their first untarnished freshness, they gain immensely in their original language, to which neither Greek nor German, much less Latin or English, can furnish any full equivalent. "He was

[1] Tillemont, *S. Ephrem*, ch. 12. [2] Rom. iv. 12. [3] Gen. xv. 6.

"supported, he was built up, he reposed as a child in its "mother's arms" (such seems the force of the Hebrew [1]word) in the strength of God; in God whom he did not see, more than in the giant empires of earth, and the bright lights of heaven, or the claims of tribe and kindred, which were always before him. "It was counted to him for righteous-"ness." It "was counted to him," and his history seals and ratifies the result. His faith, as we have seen, transpires not in any outward profession of faith, but precisely in that which far more nearly concerns him and every one of us, in his prayers, in his actions, in the righteousness, the "justice" (if one may again so draw out the sense of the Hebrew [2]word), the "*uprightness*," the moral "*elevation*" of soul and spirit which sent him on his way straightforward, without turning to the right hand or to the left. His belief, vague, it may be, indefinite and scanty, even in the most elementary truths of religion, is in the Scriptures implied rather than stated. It is in him simply "the evidence of things not seen," "the hope against hope." His faith, in the literal sense of the word, is known to us only through "his works." He and his descendants are blessed, not as in the Koran, because of his adoption of the first article of the creed of Islam, but because he had "*obeyed* the voice of the Lord, and *kept* "His *charge*, His *commandments*, His *statutes*, and [3]His "*laws*."

His universal character.

Such was the faith of the First Believer: in how many ways, an example, a consolation, a study, to his latest descendants. And this prepares us for observing that he was not only "faithful," but "the *Father* of the Faithful." In modern ages of the history of the Church it has too often happened that the doctrine of "faith" has had a narrowing effect on the conscience and feelings of those who have

[1] See Gesenius, *Lexicon*, 72.
[2] Ib. 854.
[3] Gen. xxvi. 5; xviii. 19.

strongly embraced it. It was far otherwise with St. Paul, to whom it was almost synonymous with the admission of the Gentiles. It was far otherwise with its first exemplification in the life of the Patriarch Abraham. His very name implies this universal mission. "The Father" [1] (Abba): "The lofty Father" (Ab-ram): "The Father of multitudes" (Ab-raham [2]): the venerable parent, surveying, as if from that lofty eminence, the countless progeny who should look up to him as their spiritual ancestor. He was, first, the Father of the Chosen People, the people who, by reason of their faith, though in one sense the narrowest of all ancient nations, yet were also the widest in their diffusion and dispersion—the only people, that, by virtue of an invisible bond, maintained their national union in spite of local difference and division. But he was much more than the Father of the Chosen People. It is not a mere allegory or accidental application of separate texts, that justifies S. Paul's appeal to the case of Abraham as including within itself the faith of the whole Gentile world. His position, as represented to us in the original records, is of itself far wider than that of any merely Jewish saint or national hero; and he is, on that ground alone, the fitting image to meet us at the outset of the history of the Church. He, the founder of the Jewish race, was yet, by the confession of their own annals, not a Jew, nor the father exclusively of Jews. He was "the Hebrew," to whom, both in the Biblical record [3] and their own traditions, the Arabian no less than the Israelite tribes look back as to their first ancestor. The scene of his life, as of the Patriarchs generally, breathes a larger atmosphere than the contracted limits of Palestine—the free air of the plains of Mesopotamia and the desert,—

[1] According to the Persian traditions his name, before his conversion, was Zerwan, "the wealthy." Hyde, *Rel. Pers.* 77.

[2] An abbreviation of *rab-hamon* (*hamon* = multitude, as of the drops of rain, the swelling of springs, the voice of singers). Gesenius, *Lexicon*, 281.

[3] Gen. xvi. 15; xxv. 1–6.

the neighbourhood of the vast shapes of the Babylonian monarchy on one side, and of Egypt on the other. He is not an ecclesiastic, not an ascetic, not even a learned sage, but a chief, a shepherd, a warrior, full of all the affections and interests of family and household, and wealth and power, and for this very reason the first true type of the religious man, the first representative of the whole Church of God.

This universality of Abraham's faith—this elevation, this multitudinousness of the Patriarchal, paternal character, which his name involves, has also found a response in those later traditions and feelings of which I have before spoken. When Mahomet[1] attacks the idolatry of the Arabs, he justifies himself by arguing, almost in the language of S. Paul, that the faith which he proclaimed in One Supreme God was no new belief, but was identical with the ancient religion of their first father Abraham. When the Emperor Alexander Severus placed in the chapel of his palace the statues of the choice spirits of all [2] times, Abraham, rather than Moses, was selected, as the centre, doubtless, of a more extended circle of sacred associations. When the author of the "Liberty of Prophesying" ventured, before any other English divine, to lift up his voice in behalf of universal religious toleration, he was glad to shelter himself under the authority of the ancient Jewish or Persian apologue, of doubtful origin, but of most instructive wisdom, of almost Scriptural simplicity, which may well be repeated here as an expression of the world-wide sympathies which attach to the Father of the [3] Faithful.

"*When Abraham sate at his tent-door, according to his*

[1] Koran, ii. 118–126; 129, 130; iii. 30, 91.

[2] "Optimos electos et animos sanctiores."—Lamprid. *Alex. Sever. Vit.* c. 20.

[3] The story and its origin are given in Heber's *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, note xx. (Eden's edit. vol. i. p. ccevi.), and in a letter of Mr. Everett, in the *Life of Sydney Smith*, 14. It was apparently told by a Jewish prisoner at Tripoli to the Persian poet Saadi whilst working as a slave, thence copied by Grotius, thence by Taylor, thence appropriated by Franklin.

" custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old " man stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age " and travel, coming towards him, who was an hundred " years of age. He received him kindly, washed his feet, " provided supper, caused him to sit down, but observing " that the old man ate and prayed not, nor begged for a " blessing on his meat, asked him why he did not worship " the God of Heaven? The old man told him that he wor- " shipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other god; at " which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry, that he " thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to " all the evils of the night and an unguarded condition. " When the old man was gone, God called to him and asked " him where the stranger was; he replied: 'I thrust him " away, because he did not worship thee.' God answered, " 'I have suffered him these hundred years, though he dis- " honoured me: and couldest not thou endure him for " one night, when he gave thee no trouble?' Upon this, " saith the story, Abraham fetched him back again, and " gave him hospitable entertainment, and wise instruction. " Go thou and do likewise; and thy charity will be re- " warded by the God of Abraham."

The name of Elohim.

If we may trust the ingenious conjecture of a distinguished [1] writer, whom I have already quoted, a more certain and enduring memorial has been preserved of this side of Abraham's mission. The name by which the Deity is known throughout the patriarchal or introductory age of the Jewish Church is "Elohim," translated in the English version "God." In this name has been discovered a trace of the conciliatory, comprehensive mission of the first Prophet of the true religion. "Elohim" is a plural noun, though followed by a verb in the singular. When "Eloah" (God) was first used in the plural,

[1] What follows has been added, in a condensed form, from the Essay of Professor Müller on Semitic Monotheism, already cited. (See p. 16.)

it could only have signified, like any other plural, "many Eloahs;" and such a plural could only have been formed after the various names of God had become the names of independent deities; that is, during a polytheistic stage. The transition from this into the monotheistic stage could be effected only in two ways; either by denying altogether the existence of the Elohim and changing them into devils, — as was done in Persia,—or by taking a higher view, and looking upon them as so many names invented with the honest purpose of expressing the various aspects of the Deity, though in time diverted from their original intention. This was the view taken by Abraham. Whatever the names of the Elohim worshipped by the numerous clans of his race, Abraham saw that all the Elohim were meant for God; and thus Elohim, comprehending by one name everything that ever was or ever could be called Divine, became the name by which the monotheistic age was rightly inaugurated: a plural conceived and construed as a singular. From this point of view the Semitic name of the Deity, which at first sounds not only ungrammatical, but irrational, becomes perfectly clear and intelligible. It is at once the proof that Monotheism rose on the ruins of a polytheistic faith, and that it absorbed and acknowledged the better tendencies of that faith. In the true spirit of the later Apostle of the Gentiles, Abraham, his first predecessor and model, declared the God "whom they "ignorantly worshipped," to be the "God, that made the "world, and all things therein," "the Lord of heaven and "earth," "in whom we live, and move, and have our "[1] being."

The Covenant. Circumcision.

Yet, however comprehensive is this type of the Patriarch's character, there is an exclusiveness also. In one point of view, "he is the Father of all them that believe, though

[1] Acts xvii. 23–28.

"they be not circumcised:" in another point of view he is the Father of the circumcision only. That venerable rite, indeed, which in the first beginnings of Christianity was regarded only as a mark of division and narrowness, was, in the primitive Eastern world, the sign of a proud [1] civilisation. It was not only a Jewish, but an Arabian, a Phœnician, an Egyptian custom. As such it still lingers in the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches. How far any of these countries received it from Abraham, or Abraham from them, is now almost as difficult to ascertain, as it is to discern the original signification of a usage, once so honourable and so sacred, and now so entirely removed alike from honour and from sanctity. But the limitation, of which, in a religious sense, it was the symbol, is expressed in a passage of the Patriarch's life, which stands midway, as it were, between his wider and his narrower call. In the visions [2] of the night Abraham is called forth by the Divine voice, from the curtains of the tent, under the open sky. He is told to look towards heaven, the clear bright Eastern heaven, glittering with innumerable stars, those stars which all tradition, as we have seen, has so naturally and so closely connected with the education and conversion of Abraham; the stars which have in all times taught unearthly wisdom and vastness of spiritual ideas to the mind of man. "Look toward heaven, and "tell the stars, if thou be able to number them. So shall "thy seed be." This was, if taken in its fullest sense, that wide, incalculable, interminable view of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues — each star differing from the other star in glory — of which we have already spoken. But the vision was not ended. He was bidden to prepare as

The vision and the sacrifice.

[1] See Ezekiel xxxii. 24–32, with Ewald's notes. Compare also Ewald's *Alterthümer*, 100.

[2] Gen. xv. 1. By Jewish tradition this scene is fixed on a mountain three miles north of Banias. Schwarz, 302.

for the peculiar forms of sacrifice which, it is [1]said, for centuries afterwards, in his own country, were used to sanction a treaty or covenant. The birds, and the fragments of the heifer and the goat, were parted, so as to leave a space for the contracting parties to pass between; and the day began to decline, and the birds of prey, of evil omen, hovered like a cloud over the carcasses; and at last the sun went down, and the heavens, so bright and clear on the preceding night, were overcast; and "a deep sleep fell upon Abraham, "and lo! a horror of great darkness fell upon him." And in that thick darkness a light, as of a blazing fire, enveloped with the smoke as of a furnace, passed through the open space, and the covenant, the *first* covenant, "the *Old* Testament," was concluded between God and man. Taking these figures as they are thus shadowed forth, and in combination with the words which followed, they truly express the peculiar "conditions," to use the modern phrase, under which the history of the Chosen People was to be unfolded from its brighter and from its darker side. Darkness and light are mingled together; the bright heavens of yesterday overclouded by the horror of great darkness to-day; wheresoever the carcasses of the victims lie, the ravenous eagles are gathered together, and with difficulty scared away by the watchful protector; the light, burning in the midst of the smoke as it sweeps through the narrow pathway, is the same image that we shall meet again and again throughout the history of the Older, and of the New covenant also: the bush burning but not consumed; the pillar at once of cloud and of fire; the children in the midst of the furnace, yet without hurt; the remnant preserved, though cut down to the root: exile and bondage, yet constant deliverance; a

[1] See Von Bohlen's note on Gen. xv. 10. For the amplification of the scene see *Koran*, ii. 262, in Lane's *Selections*, 153.

narrow home, yet a vast [1] dominion; the perverse, wayward, degraded people, yet the countrymen and the progenitors, after the flesh, of One in whom was brought to the highest fulfilment their own union of suffering and of triumph, the thick darkness of the smoking furnace, the burning and the shining [2] light. This is the mixed prospect of the History of the Jewish Church; this is the mixed prospect, in its widest sense, of all Ecclesiastical History.

[1] Gen. xv. 18–21. The "river of Egypt" (here only) is the Nile. It is inserted, evidently, as the extreme western limit of Jewish thought and dominion.

[2] A fine passage, which unites the thought of the vision of Gen. xv. 12, with the universal prayer of Abraham in Gen. xviii. 23, occurs in the legends (Beer's *Leben Abrahams*, 88), where, after the overthrow of Jerusalem, the figure of Abraham emerges from the ruins to plead for the repentance and restoration of his people.

LECTURE II.

ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.

The first entrance into the Holy Land.

It is an advantage of visiting a country once civilised but since fallen back into barbarism, that its present aspect more nearly reproduces to us the appearance which it wore to its earliest inhabitants, than had we seen it in the height of its splendour. Delphi and Mycenæ, in their modern desolation, are far more like what they were as they burst upon the eyes of the first Grecian settlers, than at the time when they were covered by a mass of temples and palaces. Palestine, in like manner, must exhibit at the present day a picture more nearly resembling the country as it was seen in the days of the Patriarchs, than would have been seen by David, or even by Joshua. Doubtless many of the hills which are now bare were then covered with forest; and the torrent beds which are now dry throughout the year were, at least in the winter, foaming streams. But, as far as we can trust the scanty notices, the land must have been in one important respect much what it is now. It is everywhere intimated that its population was thinly scattered over its broken surface of hill and valley. Here and there a wandering shepherd, as now, must have been driving his sheep over the mountains. The smoke of some worship, now extinct for ages, may have been seen going up from the rough, upright stones, which, like those of Stonehenge or Abury, in our own country, have survived every form of civilised buildings,

and remain to this day standing on the sea-coast plain of Phœnicia. Groupes of worshippers must have been gathered from time to time on some of the many mountain heights, or under some of the dark clumps of ilex; "For the Canaanite "was then in the land." But the abodes of settled life are described as confined to two spots; one, the oldest city in Palestine, the city of Arba, or the Four Giants, as it was called, in the rich vale of Hebron; the other, "the circle" of the five cities in the vale of the Jordan. These were the earliest representatives of the civilisation of Canaan; the Perizzites, or, as they were usually called, "the Hittites," the dwellers in the open villages, who gave their name to the whole country; so much so, that the children of Heth are called "the children of the land," and the land itself was known both on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments as the land of [1] "Heth." Mingled with these, on the mountain tops, as their name implies, were [2] the warlike Amorite chiefs, Mamre and his two brothers. Along the southern coast, and the undulating land called "the south country," between Palestine and the desert, were the ancient predecessors of the Philistines, probably the Avites; not, like their future conquerors, a maritime people of fortified cities, but a pastoral, nomadic race, though under a ruler entitled "king." On the east of the Jordan, round the sanctuary of the Horned Ashtaroth, and southward as far as the Dead Sea, were remnants of the gigantic aboriginal tribes, not yet ejected by the encroachments of Edom, Ammon, or Moab,—the Horites, dwellers in the caves of the distant Petra, the Emim and Zamzummim on the east of the Jordan, and the [3] Rephaim, whose name long lingered in the memory of the later in-

[1] Gen. xxiii. 7. See Ewald, i. 317.

[2] Gen. xiv. 13. They are applied to in war, as the Hittites (xxiii. 7) in peace.

[3] Gen. xiv. 5–7; Deut. ii. 10–12, 20–23. See Lecture IX. For the Rephaim see Gesenius (*in voce*).

habitants, and was used to describe the shades of the world beyond the grave.

I. Such must have been the general outline of Palestine when Abraham "passed over" from Damascus, and "passed "through the land." Let us briefly note his halting-places, as he roves, almost at will, through the unknown country to which we are specially invited by the Sacred narrative, and also by the account of the Patriarchal wanderings in the speech[1] of S. Stephen, which gives us a warrant, even from a higher point of view, for touching on these rapid transitions from place to place. They bring before us the point often forgotten, which that great precursor of S. Paul was specially endeavouring to impress upon his hearers, that the migration was still going on: that the Patriarch "had no "inheritance in the land, no, not so much as to set his foot on." Fixed locality was to form no essential part of the true religion. Abraham was still the first Pilgrim, the first Discoverer; "not knowing whither he[2] went." The words, which Reuchlin used to Melanchthon leaving his father's home, were directly and without effort taken from the call to Abraham, to go out "from his country and from his kindred "and from his father's house." The figures which we thus employ, in prose and poetry, in allegory and sermon, are the direct bequest of the Patriarchal pastoral age. In the sight of that primitive time the symbols and realities, which we now regard as separate from each other, were blended in one. The curtain of the picture of life, if I may use the expression of the Greek artist, was to them the picture itself.

Halting-places.

1. Look at the Patriarchal wanderings in this light, and it will not be thought misspent time to dwell for a short space on the successive stages of their advance. The first was "the place," as it is called, of Shechem; then, as it would

Shechem.

[1] Acts vii. 2–16. [2] Heb. xi. 8.

seem, only marked by the terebinths[1] of Moreh. It is the earliest instance of these primitive wanderers pitching their tents, for shelter against wind or rain, under the shade of some spreading tree. As a rock or a palm-grove in the desert, so in Palestine itself was the isolated terebinth or ilex, the most massive and majestic of its native trees, and therefore legitimately, though not quite correctly, rendered by the English parallel of "the oak." The oak of Moreh, like that of Mamre, to which we shall presently come, probably derived its name from some ancient chief, and was perhaps already regarded as in some measure sacred. Here, doubtless, by the side of the gushing streams of the vale of Shechem, the first encampment was described to have been made, and the altar of the earliest holy place in the Holy Land to have been consecrated. Even the oak remained for many centuries the object of national reverence. The sanctity of the place lasts even to this day.

Bethel.

2. The second halt was a day's journey farther south, on the central ridge of Palestine, at Bethel; then doubtless only known, if known at all, by its ancient name of Luz; and to this same spot Abraham returned after the journey from Egypt, of which we will presently speak more at length. This was more than a halting-place; it is represented as the turning point of his life. In the philosophical and religious traditions of all countries there is often described a separation as between two parting roads, a *divortium*, or "watershed," as the Romans called it, where those who have been companions up to a certain point are thenceforth severed asunder. In Greek teaching the choice is described, through the well-known fable of Hercules, between the rugged path of Virtue and the easy descent of Pleasure. In Mussulman legends, Mahomet stands on the mountain above

[1] Gen. xii. 6. See *Sinai and Palestine*, 142, 235.

Damascus, and, gazing on the glorious view, turns away from it with the words, "Man has but one paradise, and mine is "fixed elsewhere." Often, too, in the lives and conversions of good men in later times, shall we see this same necessity of selection brought before us in the spiritual world. Here it is presented to us in one of those instances which I just noticed, in which the spiritual lesson and the outward image are so blended together as to be indistinguishable. The two emigrants from Mesopotamia had now swelled into two powerful tribes, and the herdsmen of Abraham and Lot strove together, and the first *controversy*, the first primeval pastoral controversy, divided the Patriarchal Church. "Let there be "no strife, I pray thee" (so the Father of the Faithful replied in language which might well extend beyond the strife of herdsmen and shepherds, to the strife of "pastors and teachers" in many a church and nation), "Let there be no "strife, I pray thee, between thee and me, between my herds-"men and thy herdsmen, for we are brethren. Is not the "whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, "from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to "the right; or, if thou depart to the right hand, I will go to "the [1]left."

It was the first instance of "agreeing to differ," in later times so rarely found, so eagerly condemned; and yet not less suitable to all times, because of the extreme simplicity of its earliest application.

[1] Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3–17. There is another like passage in the history of Isaac: I give it as it appears in the Vulgate. This, by translating the Hebrew proper names, preserves the spirit of the original, which in our version is entirely lost: "Isaac's "servants digged in the valley, "and found there a well of spring-"ing water; and the herdsmen of "Gerar did strive with Isaac's herds-"men, saying, The water is ours; and "he called the name *Calumny*, be-"cause they strove with him. And "they digged another well, and strove "for that also; and he called the name "of it *Strife*. And he removed "from thence and digged another "well, and for that they strove not; "and he called the name of it *Lati-"tude*, and he said, For now the Lord "hath made latitude for us, and we "shall be fruitful in the land."—*Gen.* xxvi. 19–22.

Meanwhile let us take our stand with them on the mountain east of Bethel. The indications of the sacred text, and the peculiar position of the localities, enable us to fix the very spot. On the rocky summit of that hill, under its grove of oaks, Abraham had pitched his tent and built his altar,—the first of the high places which so long continued in Palestine amongst his descendants. And now, from this spot, he and his kinsman made the choice which determined the fate of each, according to the view which that summit commands. Lot looked down on the green valley of the Jordan, its tropical luxuriance visible even from thence, beautiful and well watered as that garden of Eden, of which the fame still lingered in their own Chaldæan hills, as the valley of the Nile in which they had so lately sojourned. He chose the rich soil, and with it the corrupt civilisation which had grown up in the rank climate of that deep descent; and once more he turned his face eastward, and left to Abraham[1] the hardship, the glory, and the virtues of the rugged hills, the sea-breezes, and the inexhaustible future of Western Palestine. It was Abraham's henceforward; he was to "arise "and walk through the length and through the breadth of "it, for God had given it to him." This was the first appropriation, the first consecration of the Holy Land.

The oak of Mamre.

3. "Then Abraham removed his tent, and came and dwelt "in the 'oak-grove' of Mamre, which is in Hebron, and built "there an altar unto the[2] Lord." Here we have the third and chief resting-place of the wandering Patriarch. The modern town of Hebron, or, as it is now called after its first illustrious occupant, "El Khalil," "The Friend," lies on the northern slope of a basin formed by the confluence of two

[1] It is on this divergence of the characters of Lot and Abraham that is founded the legend of the Holy Cross, commemorated in the convent of that name near Jerusalem.

[2] Gen. xiii. 18. See *Sinai and Palestine*, 142, 164.

broad valleys, whose superior cultivation and vegetation have probably caused the long historical celebrity of this spot as the earliest seat of the civilisation and power, if not of Palestine, at least of Judæa. The hills which rise above it on the north present for a considerable distance a level table-land slightly broken by occasional depressions, now mostly occupied by corn fields. It is on this high ground, in one of the depressions, that a large square enclosure of ancient masonry marks in all probability the remains of the sanctuary which the Kings of Judah built round what is still called by Jews and Arabs "The House," or "The [1] Height," of Abraham. On this spot, in the time of Josephus, a gigantic terebinth was shown as coeval with the Création, and as being that under which the tent of the Patriarch was pitched. A fair used to be held under its branches, in which Christians, Jews, and Arabs assembled every summer, when each with his peculiar rites honoured the sacred tree with the images and pictures which hung from its branches. Constantine destroyed the images but left the tree; and its trunk, standing in the midst of the church, was still visible in the seventeenth century. Now, the only indication of the exact spot is a deep [2] well, being in truth precisely what one would expect to find hard by the Patriarchal encampment.

This is the nearest approach to a home that the wanderings of Abraham present. Underneath the tree [3] his tent was pitched when he sate in the heat of the Eastern noon. Thither came the mysterious visitants whose reception was afterwards commemorated in one of the pictures hung from the sacred oak. In their entertainment is presented every characteristic [4] of genuine Arab hospitality, which has given him the name of

[1] Ramet el Khalil. See Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 216.

[2] *Early Travellers*, p. 87. This well (at the south-west corner of the enclosure) is not mentioned by Robinson.

[3] Gen. xviii. 4, "the tree," and throughout, "plain" = "oak-grove."

[4] For the haste (Gen. xviii. 6–8) of Arabian hospitality, see Porter's *Damascus*, i.

"The Father of Guests." But there is another spot in Hebron which gives a yet more permanent and domestic character to its connection with Abraham's life. When Darius pursued the Scythians into their wilderness, they told him that the only place which they could appoint for a meeting was by the tombs of their fathers. The ancestral burial-place is the one fixed element in the unstable life of a nomadic race; and this was what Hebron furnished to the Patriarchs. The one spot of earth which Abraham could call his own, the pledge which he left of the perpetuity of his interest in "the land "wherein he was a stranger," was the sepulchre which he bought with four hundred shekels of silver from Ephron the Hittite. It was a rock with a double cave ("Machpelah"), standing amidst a grove of olives or ilexes, on the slope of the table-land where the first encampment had been made, its valley probably occupying the same position with regard to the ancient town of Hebron, that the sepulchral valley of Jehoshaphat did afterwards to Jerusalem. Round this venerable cave the reverence of successive ages and religions has now raised a series of edifices which, whilst they preserve its identity, conceal it entirely from view. But there it still remains. Within the Mussulman mosque, within the Christian church, within the massive stone enclosure built by the Kings of Judah, is, beyond any reasonable question, the last resting-place of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebecca; "and there Jacob buried Leah;" and thither, with all the pomp of funeral state, his own embalmed body was brought from the palaces of Egypt. Of all the great Patriarchal family, Rachel alone is absent. All that has ever been seen of the interior of the mosque (held by Mussulman pilgrims to be the fourth most sacred in the world) is the floor of the upper chamber, containing six chests, placed there, as usual in Mussulman sepulchres, to represent the tombs of the dead. But it is said that here, as in the analogous case of the tomb

Cave of Machpelah.

of Aaron on Mount Hor, the real cave exists beneath; divided by an artificial floor into two compartments, into the upper one of which only the chief minister of the mosque is admitted to pray in times of great calamity. The lower compartment, containing the actual graves, is entirely closed, and has never been seen by any one[1] within the range of memory or tradition.

Beersheba.

4. Although the oaks of Mamre and the cave of Machpelah rendered Hebron the permanent seat of Patriarchal life beyond any spot in Palestine, and although they are always henceforth described as lingering around this green and fertile vale, there is yet another circle of recollections more in accordance with their ancient pastoral habits. Even at the moment of the purchase of the sepulchre, Abraham represents himself as still "a stranger and a sojourner in the "land;" and as such his haunts were elsewhere. "He jour-"neyed from thence toward the south country, and dwelt "between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar." None of these particular spots are known with certainty; but it is evident that we are now far away from the hills of Judæa, in the wide upland valley, or rather undulating plain, sprinkled with shrubs, and with the wild flowers which indicate the transition from the pastures of Palestine to the desert,—marked also by the ancient wells, dug far into the rocky soil, and bearing on their stone or marble margins the traces of the long ages during which the water has been drawn up from their deep recesses. Such are those near the western extremity of the plain, still bearing in their name their identification with "the well of the oath," or "the well of the[2] Seven,"—Beer-sheba—which formed the last point reached by the patriarchs, the last centre of their wander-

[1] See, however, Benjamin of Tudela in *Early Travellers*, p. 87.

[2] See Mr. Grove's article on "Beer-sheba" in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.

ing flocks and herds; and, in after times, from being thus the last inhabited spot on the edge of the desert, the southern frontier of their descendants. This southernmost sanctuary marks the importance which, in the migratory life of the East, was and is always attached to the possession of water. Here the solemn covenant was made, according to the significant Arab forms, of placing the seven lambs[1] by themselves, between Abraham and the only chief of those regions who could dispute his right, the neighbouring king of the Philistines or Avites. "And Abraham," still faithful to the practice which he had followed in Canaan itself, "planted there "a sacred [2]grove,"—not now of ilex or terebinth, which never descend into those wild plains, but the light feathery tamarisk, the first and the last tree which the traveller sees in his passage through the desert, and thus the appropriate growth of this spot. Beneath this grove and beside these wells his tents were pitched, and "he called there on "the name of the Lord, the everlasting God." It was the same wilderness into which Ishmael had gone forth and become an archer, and was to be made a great nation. Is it not as though the strong Bedouin (shall we add the strong parental) instinct had, in his declining days, sprung up again in the aged Patriarch? — as if the unconquerable aversion to the neighbourhood of walls and cities, or the desire to meet once more with the first-born son who recalled to him his own early days, drew him down from the hills of Judæa into the congenial desert? At any rate in Beersheba, we are told, he sojourned "as a stranger" many days. In Beersheba Rebekah was received by his son Isaac into Sarah's vacant tent; and in the wilderness, as it would seem, "he gave up the ghost and died in a good old age," in the arms of his two sons, — Isaac the gentle herdsman and

[1] Herod. iii. 8. Compare Bähr's *Symbolik*, 200.
[2] Gen. xxi. 33. *Sinai and Palestine*, 21.

child of promise, Ishmael the Arabian archer, untamable as the wild[1] ass of the desert, — "and they buried him in the "cave of Machpelah."

Simplicity of the Patriarchal age.

II. We turn from this external framework to the general effect of the Patriarchal age, as suggested, amongst many other scenes, by the few words which have just been quoted describing the end of Abraham. They bring home to us, beyond any other writings, the force and the beauty of simple feeling and natural affection. It is Homer, and more than Homer, carried at once into the hands and hearts of every one. We all know the instantaneous effect produced upon us in countries, however distant, in classes or races of men, however different from our own, by hearing the cry of a little child; with what irresistible force it reminds us that we belong to the same human family; how suddenly it recalls to us, however far away, the thought of our own home. Is not this the exact effect of reading the story of Ishmael? Remote as it is in language, garb, and manner from ourselves, we instantly recognise the testimony to our common nature and kindred in the prayer of Abraham for his first-born, Ishmael, — the child who had first awakened in his bosom the feeling of parental love: — "O that Ishmael might live before Thee:"[2] or yet more in the pathetic scene where the imperious caprice of the Arab chieftainess forbade Hagar and her son to remain any longer in the tent, and "the thing was very grievous in "Abraham's sight because of his son. Abraham rose up "early in the morning, and took bread and a 'skin' filled "with water, and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, "and the child, and sent her away into the wilderness."

Ishmael.

Or look at the story of the other son, the child of laughter and joy, the gentle Isaac. Read the narrative of Eliezer's

[1] Gen. xvi. 12 (Heb.). [2] Compare Milman's *Hist. of Jews*, i. 13.

mission to fetch Rebekah. Track every stage of that journey — our first introduction in early childhood to the pictures of Oriental life, only deepened more strongly by the sight of the reality. Watch the long pilgrimage over river and mountain, retraced back to the original settlement of the race. See the camels kneeling beside the well without the city; Rebekah descending the flight of steps with the pitcher on her shoulder, exactly as the traveller Niebuhr met the Syrian damsels at one of these very wells. Look at the different characters as they come out, one by one, in the interview,—Eliezer, the faithful slave bent solely on discharging his mission: "I will not eat till I have told mine "errand. Hinder me not, seeing that the Lord hath pros- "pered my way." "Send me away, that I may go to my "master;"—the aged Bethuel always in the [1] background; —Laban's hard temper relaxing when he sees the exact ornaments still so dear to Arab acquisitiveness in this very region, the ear-ring or nose-ring, and the bracelets on his sister's hands;—Rebekah, eager to receive, forward to go, the same high spirit as we shall see afterwards in her future home, "I will draw water for thy camels also till "they have done drinking." "We have both straw and pro- "vender enough, and room to lodge in." "And they called "Rebekah, and said unto her: Wilt thou go with this man? "and she said, I will go." "And they sent away Rebekah, "their sister, and her nurse. And they blessed Rebekah and "said unto her, Thou art our sister; be thou the mother of "thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of "them that hate thee." Nor can we overlook the first touch of what may be called sentimental feeling, in the close of the journey, when the mournful meditations [2] of Isaac, by

Rebekah.

[1] This is well brought out by Professor Blunt, *Veracity of the Books of Moses*, ch. v.

[2] "Mournful." See Blunt, *ib.* "By the well," LXX. Gen. xxiv. 63.

the well at eventide, are suddenly interrupted by the arrival of the bride: "And he brought her into his mother Sarah's "tent, and Rebekah became his wife; and he loved her, and "Isaac was comforted after his mother's death."

What an insight into the primitive age! but what a cradle also for the earliest religious history! We often say that in the family is to be found the Patriarchal Church, in the father of the family the Patriarchal Priest. It is indeed so in more senses than one. When we think of the many periods in which the relations of brother and sister, father and child, husband and wife, have, even by good men, been thrust into the background as unworthy of a place in the religious relations of mankind, we may well hail this first chapter of Ecclesiastical History, as possessing far more than a merely poetical value. It is like one of those ancient Patriarchal wells so often mentioned in the history. Its waters are still fresh and clear in its deep recess. It has outlasted all other changes. It ministers indeed only to human affections and feelings, but it is precisely to those feelings which are as lasting as the human heart itself, and which therefore give and receive from the record which so responds to them, a testimony which will never pass away.

External relations of Abraham.

III. And now turn from the Patriarchal household to its points of contact with the external world. These are perhaps what most escape us as we read it for other purposes, and therefore what may be most fitly noticed here.

To the Canaanites generally.

1. The general relations of Abraham to the Canaanitish tribes have a twofold aspect. On the one hand, as if with the full consciousness of the separation which was to exist between his seed and the tribes of Canaan, and also of its future superiority over them, he always keeps himself distinct from them: he professes to be a stranger amongst them; he will accept no favour at their hands; he will not have any inter-

marriage between his race and theirs; he refuses the gift of the sepulchre from Ephron, and of the spoils from the King of Sodom. The tomb of Machpelah is a proof standing to this day, of the long predetermined assurance that the children of Abraham should inherit the land in which this was their ancestor's sole, but most precious possession. It is like the purchase of the site of Hannibal's camp by the strong faith and hope of the besieged senators of Rome.

But on the other hand, there is not in his actual dealings with the Canaanites a trace of the implacable enmity of later ages; no shadow cast before, of long wars of extermination waged against them; no indication of what, in modern times, has been supposed to be the origin of so many dark legends, and severe accusations, — the national hatred of rivals and neighbours. The anticipation of distinctness and superiority is not more decided in one class of incidents than the absence of any anticipation of war or animosity is in another. Abimelech, Ephron, Mamre, Melchizedek, all either worship the same God, or, if they worship Him under another[1] name, are all bound together by ties of hospitality and friendship. The times when the Canaanite is to be utterly destroyed, when the Amalekite is to be hewn in pieces, when the Jews are to have no dealings with the Samaritans, are still very far beyond us: we are still above the point of separation between the various tribes of Syria: distinction has not yet grown into difference; "the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." To overlook the unity, the comparative unity, between Abraham and the neighbour races of Palestine would be to overlook one of the most valuable testimonies to the antiquity, the general Patriarchal spirit of the record as it has been handed down to us.

2. Further, there are the more special occasions on which

[1] The God of Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18) was not *Eloah* or *Elohim*, but *Eliun*, the name given to the God of Phœnicia by Sanchoniathon (Kenrick, *Phœn.* 288).

Abraham is drawn, as it were, out of the pastoral or individual life, into wider relations. The chief of these is the journey into Egypt.

I shall not endeavour here, or elsewhere, to determine, where uncertainty still prevails, the special points where the history or chronology of Egypt or Judea cross each other's path: neither shall I draw out at any length, what in this instance is but slightly noticed by the sacred story, the impression left by Egypt on the mind of this, the first of the myriad travellers who have visited the valley of the Nile. But it is impossible not to pause for a moment on the few points which this event suggests to us. It is the earliest known appearance in Egypt of the nomadic races of Asia, who, under the Shepherd Kings, exercised so great an influence over its destinies in its primitive history, — who, under the Arab conquerors, have now for thirteen centuries occupied it as their own. Charlemagne is said to have wept in anticipation of the coming misfortunes of his empire when he saw the sail of the first Norman ship on the waters of the Mediterranean. And the ancient Pharaoh, whoever he was, might have wept in like manner, could he have foreseen in that innocent and venerable figure the first of the long succession of Asiatic wanderers, like in outward form, though unlike in almost all beside, attracted to the valley of the Nile by the very same motives, coming down from the table lands or parched valleys of their own deserts or mountains, because "the famine was grievous in the land," and sojourning in Egypt, because its river gave the plenteous sustenance which elsewhere they sought in [1]vain.

Abraham in Egypt.

If the Egyptian may have been startled by the sight of Abraham, much more may Abraham have been moved to awe by his approach into Egypt. Whatever may be said in legen-

[1] Isaac was going down in like manner, when he was stopped. Gen. xxvi. 2.

dary tales of his connexion with Nimrod and the Assyrian powers, this arrival in Egypt is the only indication given by the sacred historian of any conscious entrance into the presence of a great earthly kingdom. The very craft into which the Patriarch is betrayed "as he was come near to enter into "Egypt" is not without its significance. "They will kill "me, but they will save thee alive; say, I pray thee, thou art "my sister, and it shall be well with me for thy sake, and "my soul shall live because of thee." His faith and courage are unnerved at the prospect and at the sight of the great potentate amidst his princes in his royal house, with his harem and his treasures around him. Yet it is also characteristic of the Biblical narrative, that the impression left upon us by this first contact of the Church with the World is not purely unfavourable. It has been truly remarked[1] that throughout the Scriptures the milder aspect of the world is always presented to us through Egypt, the darker through Babylon. Abraham is the exile from Chaldæa, but he is the guest, the client of the Pharaohs. He dwells, according to the account of a Pagan historian, many years in the sacred city of On, where afterwards his descendants lived so long, and there teaches the Egyptians[2] astronomy. He receives (as we infer from the sacred narrative) the gifts of male and female slaves, of asses and camels, with which then as now the streets of the Egyptian cities abounded. He departs in peace. And such as Egypt is described in this narrative, such both in its secular greatness and in its religious neutrality it appears to have been in those of her monuments which alone can be with certainty ascribed to its most ancient period. The range of the thirty Pyramids, in all probability, even at that early time looked down on the plain of Memphis. They remain to indicate the same long

[1] Arnold, *Sermons on Prophecy.* [2] Eupolemus (Eus. *Præp.* ix. 17).

anterior state of civilisation which the story of Abraham itself implies, yet exhibit neither in their own sepulchral chambers, nor in those which immediately surround them, any of those signs of grotesque idolatry which give additional point to the story of the Exodus, and which exist in the later monuments of Thebes and Ipsambul.

War with Chedorlaomer.

3. The next notice of Abraham's connexion with the outer world is of a wholly different kind, and is far more in accordance with the secular aspect of his life presented in Gentile historians than anything else which the sacred narrative presents. "Abram the Hebrew" (so, as if from an external point of view the fragment, apparently of some ancient [1] record, represents him) was dwelling in state at Hebron, in the midst, not merely of his familiar circle, but of his three hundred and eighteen trusty slaves, and confederate not merely with the peaceful Ephron, but, after the manner of the Canaanite chiefs of later [2] times, with the Amorite mountaineers, Mamre, and his brothers Aner and Eshcol. Suddenly a messenger of woe appeared by the tent of the Hebrew. From the remote East, a band of kings [3] had descended on the circle of cultivation and civilisation which lay deep ensconced in the bosom of the Jordan valley. They had struck dismay far and wide amongst the aboriginal tribes of the desert, all along the east of the Jordan and down to the remote wilds of Petra, and up into the mountain fastness and secluded palm grove of Engedi. In the green vale beside the shores of the lake the five Canaanite kings rose against the invaders on their return, but were entangled in the bituminous pits of their own native region. The conquerors swept them away, and marched

[1] For the character and importance of this chapter as an historical record, see Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 401, &c.

[2] Josh. x. 3; xi. 1, 2, &c.

[3] Some slight likeness to the names of Chedorlaomer and Amraphel has been found in the Assyrian monuments. Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 436, 446.

homewards the whole length of the valley of the Jordan, carrying off their plunder, and above all the war[1] horses for which afterwards Canaan became so famous. But from the defeat in the vale of Siddim had escaped one who climbed the wall of rocks that overhang the field of battle, and announced to the new colony established beneath the oak of Hebron that their kinsman had been carried away captive. Instantly Abraham called his allies together, and with them and his armed retainers he pursued the enemy, and (if we may add the details from[2] Josephus) on the fifth day, at the dead of night, attacked the host as it lay sleeping round the sources of the Jordan. They fled over the range of Antilibanus, and once more Abraham beheld the scene of his first conquest, the city of Damascus, and in its neighbourhood, in a village still bearing the same name[3] (Hobah), he finally routed the army and rescued the captives, and returned again to the banks of the Jordan. In a vale or level spot not far from the river, called probably from this encounter "the vale of the king" or "of the kings," the victorious chief was met by two grateful princes of the country which he had delivered; one was the King of Sodom, the other was one whose name in itself commands respectful awe — Melchizedek, the King of Righteousness. Whence he came, from what parentage, remains untold, nay even of what place he was king remains uncertain (for Salem may be either Jerusalem or the smaller town of which in after times the ruins were shown to Jerome, not far from the scene of the interview). He appears for a moment, and then vanishes from our view altogether. It is this which wraps him round in that mysterious obscurity which has rendered his name the

Melchizedek.

[1] Gen. xiv. 11, 21 (LXX.).

[2] *Ant.* i. 10, 1. Compare also Eus. *Præp.* ix. 17.

[3] Gen. xiv. 15. The scene of this is commemorated in a chapel or mosque of Abraham, still the object of pilgrimage, an hour north of Damascus. Porter, i. 82.

symbol of all such sudden, abrupt apparitions, the interruptions, the dislocations, if one may so say, of the ordinary even succession of cause and effect and matter of fact in the various stages of the history of the Church, "without father, "without mother, without beginning or end of days." No wonder that in Jewish times he was regarded as some remnant of the earlier world — Arphaxad[1] or Shem. No wonder that when, in after times, there arose One whose appearance was beyond and above any ordinary influence of time or place or earthly descent, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews could find no fitter expression for this aspect of his character than the mysterious likeness of Melchizedek. But there is enough of interest if we merely confine ourselves to the letter of the ancient narrative. He was the earliest instance of that ancient, sacred, though long corrupted and long abused name, not yet disentangled from the regal office, but still of sufficient distinctness to make itself felt: "*Priest* of the Most High God." That title of Divinity also appears for the first time in the history; and we catch from a heathen author a clue to the spot of the earliest primeval sanctuary where that Supreme Name was honoured with priestly and regal service. Tradition[2] told that it was on Mount Gerizim Melchizedek ministered. On that lofty summit, from Melchizedek even to the present day, when the Samaritans still maintain that "on this mountain" God is to be worshipped, the rough rock, smoothed into a natural altar, is the only spot in Palestine, perhaps in the world, that has never ceased to be the scene of sacrifice and prayer. But what is now the last relic of a local and exhausted though yet venerable religion, was in those Patriarchal times the expression of a wide all-embracing worship, which comprehended within its range the ancient chiefs of

[1] Jerome, *Epist. ad Evangelum*, § 5; and *Liber Hebr. Quæst. in Genesim*, ad loc.

[2] Eupolemus (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17).

Canaan and the founder of the chosen people. The meeting of the two in the "King's Dale" personifies to us the meeting between what, in later times, has been called Natural and Revealed Religion; and when Abraham [1] received the blessing of Melchizedek, and tendered to him his reverent homage, it is a likeness of the recognition which true historical Faith will always humbly receive and gratefully render, when it comes in contact with the older and everlasting instincts of that religion which "the Most High God, "Possessor of Heaven and Earth," has implanted in nature and in the heart of man, in "the power of an endless life."

Abraham and the cities of the plain.

4. There is yet another occasion on which Abraham appears in connexion, not indeed with the revolutions of armies or of empires, but with the more awful convulsions which agitate the fabric of the world itself. What were the precise special means by which the fertile vale of Siddim was blasted with eternal barrenness — how and to what extent the five guilty cities of the plain were overthrown, is still a vexed question equally with theologians and [2] geologists. We need only here consider the aspect of the catastrophe, as it was presented to the Patriarch. I will not weaken by repetition the well-known words in which the "Friend of God" and of man draws near to plead before the Judge of all the earth against the indiscriminate destruction of the righteous with the wicked. Such an union of the yearnings of compassion with the sense of justice and of profound resignation, such a sympathy with the calamities, not only of his own countrymen but of a foreign and a detested race, must in that distant age be counted (to say the least) as a marvellous anticipation of a higher morality and religion, such as we are accustomed to think peculiarly our own. Read and study that chapter well; we may go much farther and fare much

[1] Jerome, *Epist. ad Evangelum*, § 6, justly remarks that the narrative leaves it ambiguous whether Abraham gave tithes to Melchizedek or Melchizedek to Abraham.

[2] *Sinai and Palestine*, 289.

worse, even in modern and Christian times, in seeking a true justification of the ways of God to man. "And on "the morrow Abraham gat up early in the morning to the "place where he stood before the Lord." The hill is still pointed out [1] amongst the many summits near Hebron commanding a view down into the deep gulf which parts the mountains of Judæa from those vast, unknown, unvisited ranges which, with their caves and wide table lands, invite the fugitives from the plain below. The subsequent history of that chasm was like a perpetual memorial of Abraham's prayer. The guilty cities disappear for ever. The descendants of the innocent fugitives become the powerful nations, of mixed character and dark origin,—Ammon and Moab.

Sacrifice of Isaac.

IV. Lastly, the history of the world and of the Church requires us to notice the act of faith which takes us back into the innermost life of Abraham himself, and marks at least one critical stage in the progress of the True [2]Religion. There have been in almost all ancient forms of Religion, in most modern forms also, strong tendencies, each in itself springing from the best and purest feelings of humanity, yet each, if carried into the extremes suggested by passion or by logic, incompatible with the other, and with its own highest purpose. One is the craving to please, or to propitiate, or to communicate with the Powers above us by surrendering some object near and dear to ourselves. This is the source of all Sacrifice. The other is the profound moral instinct that the Creator of the world cannot be pleased or propitiated or approached by any other means than a pure life and good deeds. On the exaggeration, on the contact, on the collision, of these two tendencies, have turned some of the chief corruptions, and some of the chief difficulties, of Ecclesiastical

[1] Now called Beni-naim; probably the ancient Caphar-Barucha. See Jerome, *Epit. Paulæ*, § 11; and Robinson, i. 490.

[2] See Arnold's *Sermons*, vol. ii. 394–396; Maurice, *Doctrine of Sacrifice*, 33; Ewald, i. 430; iv. 76; Bunsen's *Gott in Geschichte*, i. 170; and (in part) Kurtz's *History of the Old Covenant*, i. § 15.

History. The earliest of these we are about to witness in the life of Abraham. There came, we are told, the Divine intimation, "Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom "thou lovest, and . . . offer him for a burnt offering on one "of the mountains which I will tell thee of." It was in its spirit the exact expression of the feeling of self-devotion without which Religion cannot exist, and of which the whole life of the Patriarch had been the great example. But the form taken by this Divine trial or temptation[1] was that which a stern logical consequence of the ancient view of Sacrifice did actually assume, if not then, yet certainly in after ages, among the surrounding tribes, and which cannot therefore be left out of sight in considering the whole historical aspect of the narrative. Deep in the heart of the Canaanitish nations was laid the practice of human sacrifice; the very offering here described, of "children passing through the fire," "of "their sons and of their daughters," "of the firstborn for their "transgressions, the fruit of their body for the sin of their "soul." On the altars of Moab, and of Phœnicia, and of the distant Canaanite settlements in Carthage and in Spain, nay even, at times, in the confines of the Chosen People itself, in the wild vow of Jephthah, in the sacrifice of Saul's sons at Gibeah, in the dark sacrifices of the valley of Hinnom under the very walls of Jerusalem — this almost irrepressible tendency of the burning zeal of a primitive race found its terrible expression. Such was the trial which presented itself to Abraham. From the tents of Beersheba he set forth at the rising of the sun, and went unto the

[1] That this temptation or trial, through whatever means it was suggested, should in the sacred narrative be ascribed to the overruling voice of God, is in exact accordance with the general tenor of the Hebrew Scriptures. A still more striking instance is contained in the history of David, where the same temptation, which in one book is ascribed to God, is in another ascribed to Satan: "*The Lord* moved David to say, Go, number Israel" (2 Sam. xxiv. 1). "*Satan* provoked David to number Israel" (1 Chron. xxi. 1).

place of which God had told him. It was not the place, which Jewish tradition has selected on Mount Moriah at Jerusalem, still less that which Christian tradition shows, even to the thicket in which the ram was caught, hard by the church of the Holy Sepulchre; still less that which Mussulman tradition indicates on Mount Arafat at Meçca. Rather we must look to that ancient sanctuary of which I have already spoken, the natural altar on the summit of Mount [1] Gerizim. On that spot, at that time the holiest in Palestine, the crisis was to take place. One, two, three days' journey from Beersheba — in the distance the high crest of the mountain appears. And "Abraham lifted "up his eyes and saw the place afar off." . . .

The sacrifice, the resignation of the will, in the Father and the Son[2] was accepted; the literal sacrifice of the act was repelled. On the one hand, the great principle was proclaimed that mercy is better than sacrifice — that the sacrifice of self is the highest and holiest offering that God can receive. On the other hand, the inhuman superstitions, towards which the ancient ceremonial of sacrifice was perpetually tending, were condemned and cast out of the true worship of the Church for ever.[3]

There are doubtless many difficulties which may be raised on the offering of Isaac: but there are few, if any, which will not vanish away before the simple pathos and lofty spirit of the narrative itself, provided that we take it, as in fairness it must be taken, as a whole; its close not parted from its commencement, nor its commencement from its close, — the subordinate parts of the transaction not raised above its

[1] *Sinai and Palestine*, 251.

[2] The dialogue between Abraham and Isaac is given with considerable pathos in the collection of legends in Beer's *Leben Abrahams*, 56–70.

[3] According to the Phœnician tradition, "Israel, king of the country, "having by a nymph called Anobret "['the Hebrew fountain'] an only "son, whom they called Icoud, the "Phœnician word for only son," [so applied to Isaac, Gen. xxii. 2.] on

essential primary intention. And there is no difficulty which will not be amply compensated by reflecting on the near approach, and yet the complete repulse, of the danger which might have threatened the early Church. Nothing is so remarkable a proof of a divine and watchful interposition, as the deliverance from the infirmity, the exaggeration, the excess, whatever it is, to which the noblest minds and the noblest forms of religion are subject. We have a proverb which tells us that "Man's extremity is God's opportunity." S. Jerome tells [1] us that the corresponding proverb amongst the Jews was "In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen," or "In the mountain the LORD will provide" — that is, "As He had pity on Abraham, so He will have pity on us."

A few words remain to be added on the relation of this crowning scene of the beginning of sacred history to the crowning scene of its close. The thoughts of Christian readers almost inevitably wander from one to the other; and without entering into details of controversy or doctrine which would be here out of place, there is a common ground which no one need fear to recognise. The doctrine of the *types* of the Ancient Dispensation has often been pushed to excess. But there is a sense in which the connexion indicated thereby admits of no dispute, and which may be illustrated even by other history than that with which we are now concerned. Not only in Sacred, but even in Grecian and Roman history, do the earliest records sometimes foreshadow and represent to us the latest fortunes of the nation or power then coming into existence. Whoever is (if we may thus combine the older and the more modern use of the word) the *type* of the nation or race at any marked period of its course is also the type of its final consummation. Abraham and Abra-

"occasion of a great national calamity "adorned him with royal attire, and "sacrificed him on an altar which he "had prepared."—*Sanchoniathon*, see Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, 288.

[1] In his *Quæstiones Hebraicæ* on Gen. xxii. 14.

ham's son, in obedience, in resignation, in the sacrifice of whatever could be sacrificed short of sin, form an anticipation, which cannot be mistaken, of that last and greatest event which closes the history of the Chosen People. We leap, as by a natural instinct, from the sacrifice in the land of Moriah to the sacrifice of Calvary. There are many differences—there is a danger of exaggerating the resemblance, or of confounding in either case what is subordinate with what is essential. But the general feeling of Christendom has in this respect not gone far astray. Each event, if we look at it well, and understand it rightly, will serve to explain the other. In the very point of view in which I have just been speaking of it, the likeness is most remarkable. Human sacrifice, it has been well said, which in outward form most nearly resembled the death on the Cross, is in spirit the furthest removed from it. Human sacrifice, as we have seen, which was in outward form nearest to the offering of Isaac, was in fact and in spirit most entirely condemned and repudiated by it. The union of parental love with the total denial of self is held up in both cases as the highest model of human, and therefore as the shadow of Divine, Love. "Sacrifice" is rejected, but "to do Thy will, O God," is [1] accepted.

Questions have often arisen on the meaning of the words which bring together in the Gospel history the names of Abraham and of the true and final Heir of Abraham's promises. But to the student of the whole line of the Sacred history, they may at least be allowed to express the marvellous continuity and community of character, of truth, of intention, between this, its grand beginning, and that, its still grander end.

"*Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day, and he "saw it, and was glad.*" [2]

[1] Heb. x. 5, 7. [2] John viii. 39, 56, 58.

LECTURE III.

JACOB.

Contrast of Abraham and Jacob.

"ABRAHAM was a hero, Jacob was 'a plain man, dwelling in "tents.' Abraham we feel to be above ourselves, Jacob to "be like ourselves." So the distinction between the two great Patriarchs has been drawn out by a celebrated [1] theologian. "*Few and evil have the days of the years of my life been,* "*and have not attained unto the days of the years of the* "*life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage.*" So the experience of Israel himself is summed up in the close of his life. Human cares, jealousies, sorrows, cast their shade over the scene — the golden dawn of the Patriarchal age is overcast: there is no longer the same unwavering faith; we are no longer in communion with the "High Father," the "Friend of God;" [2] we at times almost doubt whether we are not with His enemy. But for this very reason the interest attaching to Jacob, though of a less lofty and universal kind, is more touching, more penetrating, more attractive. Nothing but the perverse attempt to demand perfection of what is held before us as imperfect could blind us to the exquisite truthfulness which marks the delineation of the Patriarch's character.

I. Look at him, as his course is unrolled through the long

[1] Newman's *Sermons*, v. 91.

[2] It is a striking legend that Abraham died on the day that Esau sold his birthright (Beer's *Leben Abrahams*, 84).

vicissitudes which make his life a faithful mirror of human existence in its most varied aspects. Look at him, as compared with his brother Esau. Unlike the sharp contrast of the earlier pairs of Sacred history, in these two the good and evil are so mingled, that at first we might be at a loss which to follow, which to condemn. The distinctness with which they seem to stand and move before us against the horizon of the clear distance is a new phase in the history. Esau, the shaggy red-haired[1] huntsman, the man of the field, with his arrows, his quiver, and his bow, coming in weary from the chase, caught, as with the levity and eagerness of a child, by the sight of the lentile soup—"Feed me, I pray "thee, with the 'red, [2]red' pottage,"—yet so full of generous impulse, so affectionate towards his aged father, so forgiving towards his brother, so open-handed, so chivalrous: who has not at times felt his heart warm towards the poor rejected Esau; and been tempted to join with him as he cries with "a great and exceeding bitter cry," "Hast thou "but one blessing, my father? bless me, even me also, O "my father!" And who does not in like manner feel at times his indignation swell against the younger brother? "Is he not rightly named Jacob, for he hath supplanted me "these two times?" He entraps his brother, he deceives his father, he makes a bargain even in his prayer; in his dealings with Laban, in his meeting with Esau, he still calculates and contrives; he distrusts his neighbours, he regards with prudential indifference the insult to his daughter, and the cruelty of his sons; he hesitates to receive the assurance of Joseph's good will: he repels, even in his lesser traits, the

Characters of Jacob and Esau.

[1] *Esau* (hairy), Arabic word. "As if with a cloak of hair (Adrath Seir)." —*Zech.* xiii. 4. *Edmoni* (LXX. πυρράκης) is "red-haired" here, and in speaking of David. *Edom* (red), as of the hair of a cow (Num. xix. 2), or horse (Zech. i. 8; vi. 2). So also of lentiles (Gen. xxv. 30), or blood (Isa. lxiii. 2). Compare Scott's description of "Rob Roy" (ch. 7).

[2] Gen. xxv. 30 (in the original).

free confidence that we cannot withhold from the Patriarchs of the elder generation.

But yet, taking the two from first to last, how entirely is the judgment of Scripture and the judgment of posterity confirmed by the result of the whole. The mere impulsive hunter vanishes away, light as air: "he did eat and drink, "and rose up, and went his way. Thus Esau despised his "birthright." The substance, the strength of the Chosen family, the true inheritance of the promise of Abraham, was interwoven with the very essence of the character of "the [1]plain man, dwelling in tents," steady, persevering, moving onward with deliberate settled purpose, through years of suffering and of prosperity, of exile and return, of bereavement and recovery. The birthright is always before him. Rachel is won from Laban by hard service, "and the seven "years seemed unto him but a few days for the love he had "to her." Isaac, and Rebekah, and Rebekah's nurse, are remembered with a faithful, filial remembrance; Joseph and Benjamin are long and passionately loved with a more than parental affection — bringing down his grey hairs for their sakes "in sorrow to the grave." This is no character to be contemned or scoffed at: if it was encompassed with much infirmity, yet its very complexity demands our reverent attention; in it are bound up, as his double name expresses, not one man, but two; by toil and struggle, Jacob, the Supplanter, is gradually transformed into Israel, the Prince of God; the harsher and baser features are softened and purified away: he looks back over his long career with the fulness of experience and humility. "I am not worthy "of the least of all the mercies and of all the truth which "Thou hast shown [2]unto Thy servant." Alone of the Patri-

[1] Gen. xxv. 27. The word translated "plain" implies a stronger approbation, which the English Version has softened, probably from a sense of the difficulty.

[2] Gen. xxxii. 10.

archal family, his end is recorded as invested with the solemnity of warning and of prophetic song. "Gather your-"selves together, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel, "your father." We need not fear to acknowledge that the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac was also the God of Jacob.

Most unworthy indeed we should be of the gift of the Sacred narrative, if we failed to appreciate it in this, its full its many-sided aspect. In the Jewish history, what a foreshadowing of the future! We may even venture to trace in the wayward chieftain of Edom the likeness of the fickle, uncertain Edomite, now allied, now hostile to the seed of promise; the wavering, unstable dynasty which came forth from Idumæa, Herod the magnificent and the cruel; Herod Antipas, who "heard John gladly" and slew him; Herod Agrippa, "almost a Christian" — half Jew and half heathen. "A turbulent and unruly race," so Josephus describes the Idumæans of his day: "always hovering on the verge of "revolution, always rejoicing in changes, roused to arms by "the slightest motion of flattery, rushing to battle as if they "were going to a [1] feast." But we cannot mistake the type of the Israelites in him whom, beyond even Abraham and Isaac, they recognised as their father [2] Israel. His doubtful qualities exactly recall to us the meanness of character, which, even to a proverb, we call in scorn "*Jewish.*" By his peculiar discipline of exile and suffering, a true counterpart is produced of the special faults and special gifts, known to us chiefly through his persecuted descendants in the Middle Ages. Professor Blunt has with much ingenuity pointed out how Jacob seems to have "learned like

Esau, the likeness of the Edomites;

Jacob, of the Jews.

[1] Josephus, *B. J.* iv. 4, 1.

[2] Hos. xii. 3, 4, 5, 12. Once only Jacob is mentioned in Pagan records; "Post Damascum Azelus, mox Adores, et Abraham, et *Israhel* reges fuere. Sed Israhelem felix decem filiorum proventus majoribus suis clariorem fecit."—*Justin*, xxxvi. 2.

"*maltreated animals*" to have the fear of man habitually "before his [1] eyes." In Jacob we see the same timid, cautious watchfulness that we know so well, though under darker colours, through our great masters of fiction, in Shylock of Venice and Isaac of York. But no less, in the nobler side of his career, do we trace the germs of the unbroken endurance, the undying resolution, which keeps the nation alive still even in its present outcast condition, and which was the basis, in its brighter days, of the heroic zeal, long-suffering, and hope, of Moses, of David, of Jeremiah, of the Maccabees, of the twelve Jewish Apostles, and the first martyr, Stephen.

We cannot, however, narrow the lessons of Jacob's history to the limits of the Israelite Church. All Ecclesiastical History is the gainer by the sight of such a character so delineated. It is a character not all black nor all white, but chequered with the mixed colours which make up so vast a proportion of the double phases of the leaders of the Church and world in every age. The force of the Scripture narrative may be seen by its contrast with the dark hues in which Esau is painted by the Rabbinical [2] authors. He is hindered in his chase by Satan; Hell opens as he goes in to his father; he gives his father dog's flesh instead of venison; he tries to bite Jacob on his return; he commits five sins in one day. This is the difference between mere national animosity and the high impartial judgment of the Sacred story, evenly balanced and steadily held, yet not regardless of the complicated and necessary variations of human thought and action. For students of theology, for future pastors, for young men in the opening of life, what a series of lessons, were this the place to enlarge upon it, is opened in the history of those two youths,

Examples of mixed characters

[1] *Veracity of the Books of Moses*, ch. viii. [2] Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* 207.

issuing from their father's tent in Beersheba! The free, easy, frank good-nature of the profane Esau is not overlooked; the craft, duplicity, timidity, of the religious Jacob is duly recorded. Yet, on the one hand, fickleness, unsteadiness, weakness, want of faith and want of principle, ruin and render useless the noble qualities of the first; and on the other hand, steadfast purpose, resolute sacrifice of present to future, fixed principle, purify, elevate, turn to lasting good even the baser qualities of the second. And, yet again, whether in the two brothers or their descendants, we see how in each the good or evil strove together and worked their results almost to the end. Esau and his race cling still to the outskirts of the Chosen People. "Meddle not," it was said in after times, "with your brethren the children "of Esau, for I will not give you of their land, because I "have given Mount Seir[1] to Esau for a possession." Israel, on the other hand, is outcast, thwarted, deceived, disappointed, bereaved, — "all these things are against me;" in him, and in his progeny also, the curse of Ebal is always blended with the blessings of Gerizim. Remember these mingled warnings as we become entangled in the web of the history of the whole Church. How hardly Esau was condemned, how hardly Jacob was saved. We are kept in long and just suspense; the prodigal may, as far as human eye can see, be on his way home; the blameless son, who "has been in his father's house always," may be shutting himself out. Yet the final issue, to which on the whole this primitive history calls our attention, is the same which is borne out by the history of the Church even in these later days of complex civilisation. There is, after all, a weakness in selfish worldliness, for which no occasional impulse can furnish any adequate compensation, even though it be

[1] Deut. ii. 5.

the generosity of an Arabian chief, or the inimitable good-nature of an English king. There is a nobleness in principle and in faith which cannot be wholly destroyed, even though it be marred by the hardness or the duplicity of the Jew, or the Jesuit, or the Puritan.

II. Let us now follow the Patriarch through the successive scenes of his life; again, as in the case of Abraham, dwelling upon those special points which admit of geographical or historical elucidation, or general application of ecclesiastical and spiritual truth.

Jacob at Bethel.

1. "And Jacob went out from Beersheba, and went toward Haran." It is, if one may so say, the first retrograde movement in the history of the Church. Was the migration of Abraham to be reversed? Was the westward tide of events to roll back upon itself? Was the Chosen Race to sink back into the life of the Mesopotamian deserts? The first halt of the Wanderer revealed his future destinies. "The sun went down;" the night gathered round; he was on the central thoroughfare, on the hard [1] backbone of the mountains of Palestine; the ground was strewn with wide sheets of bare rock; here and there stood up isolated fragments, like ancient Druidical monuments. On the hard ground he lay down for rest, and in the visions of the night the rough stones formed themselves into a vast staircase, reaching into the depth of the wide and open sky, which, without any interruption of tent or tree, was stretched over the sleeper's head. On that staircase were seen ascending and descending the messengers of God; and from above there came the Divine Voice which told the houseless wanderer that, little as he thought it, he had a Protector there and everywhere; that even in this bare and open thoroughfare, in no consecrated grove or cave, "the LORD was in this place,

[1] See *Sinai and Palestine*, 220.

"though he knew it not." "This was BETHEL, the House of "God; and this was the gate of Heaven."

The monument, whatever it was, that was still in after ages ascribed to the erection of Jacob, must have been, like so many described or seen in other times and countries, a rude copy of the natural features of the place, as at Carnac in Brittany, the cromlechs of Wales and Cornwall, or the walls of Tiryns, where the play of nature and the simplicity of art are almost indistinguishable. In all ages of primitive history, such monuments are, if we may so call them, the earliest ecclesiastical edifices. In Greece there were rude stones at Delphi, still visible in the second century, anterior to any temple, and, like the rock of Bethel, anointed[1] with oil by the pilgrims who came thither. In Northern Africa, Arnobius, after his conversion, describes the kind of fascination which had drawn him towards one of those aged stones, streaming and shining with the sacred oil which had been[2] poured upon it. The black stone of the Arabian Caaba reaches back to the remotest antiquity of which history or tradition can speak.

In all these rough anticipations of a fixed structure or building, we trace the beginnings of what in the case of Jacob is first distinctly called "Beth-el," the *house* of God, "the *place* of worship" — the "Beit-allah" of Mecca, the "Bætulia" of the early Phœnician worship. When we see the rude remains of Abury in our own country, there is a strange interest in the thought that they were the first architectural witness of English religion. Even so the pillar or cairn or cromlech of Bethel must have been looked upon by the Israelites, and may still be looked upon in thought by us, as the precursor of every "House of God," that has since

[1] Paus. vii. 22; x. 24.

[2] Arnobius *adv. Gent.* i. 39. He speaks also (vi. 11) of the special worship of "informes lapides" by the Arabs.

arisen in the Jewish and Christian world — the temple, the cathedral, the church, the chapel; nay more, of those secret places of worship that are marked by no natural beauty and seen by no human eye — the closet, the catacomb, the thoroughfare, of the true worshipper. There was neither in the aspect nor in the ground of Bethel any "*Religio loci*," but the place was no less "dreadful," "full of awe." The stone[1] of Bethel remained as the memorial that an all-encompassing Providence watches over its chosen instruments, however unconscious at the time of what and where they are. "The Shepherd of the *stone* of Israel" was one of the earliest names by which "the God of Jacob" was[2] known. The vision of the ascending and descending messengers received its highest application in a Divine manifestation, yet more universal and[3] unexpected.

Jacob in Mesopotamia.

2. The chief interest of the story of Jacob's twenty years' service with Laban lies in its reopening of the relations between the settlers in Palestine and the original tribe of Mesopotamia, which appeared on Abraham's migration to have been closed. These chapters are an instance of the compensation which is constantly going on in the losses and gains of theological study. If a shade of uncertainty is thrown here and there over the meaning and nature of the narrative, which a hundred or a thousand years ago would not have occurred; yet, on the other hand, with how far deeper a pleasure than in any preceding age do we enter into the beauty of those primitive scenes. We are more than interested; we are refreshed; we are edified; we become again like little children, as that pastoral life rises before our own worn-out time. Like the aged patriarch, "whose eyes

[1] The worship of meteoric stones (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 2; Herod. v. 3; Gesenius, *Mon. Phœn.* 387) refers rather to their being thought the *habitations* of the Deity.

[2] Gen. xlix. 24. Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. 523, note.

[3] John i. 51.

"were dim that he could not see," and who "longed for the "savoury meat that he loved, that he might eat it before he "died," we too in the haze of many centuries which surrounds our vision, "smell the smell of the raiment" of those ancient chiefs, and we bless them, and we feel that it is "as "the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed," full of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the virgin earth.

"Then Jacob 'lifted up his feet' and came into the land of "'the children' of the East. And he looked, and behold a "well in the field; and lo! three flocks of sheep lying by it, "and a great stone was on the well's mouth." The shepherds were there; they had advanced far away from "the city of Nahor." It was not the well outside the walls, with the hewn staircase, down which Rebekah descended with the pitcher on her head. Rachel[1] comes, guiding her father's flocks, like the daughters of the Bedouin chiefs at the present day; and Jacob claims the Bedouin right of cousinship: "And it came to pass when Jacob saw Rachel, the daughter "of Laban, his mother's brother, and the *sheep* of Laban, "his mother's brother [observe the simplicity of the juxta-"position], that Jacob went near and rolled the stone from "the well's mouth, and watered the flock of Laban his "mother's brother; and Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up "his voice and wept." Everything which follows is of the same colour. Bethuel, the aged head of the family in Rebekah's time, is dead; and Laban has succeeded, the true type of the hard-hearted, grasping Sheykh of an Arabian tribe; Laban, the ordinary likeness of one side of the Arabian character, as Esau is of the other. Then begins the long contest of cunning and perseverance, in which true love wins the game at last against selfish gain. Seven years, the service

[1] The spring at Orfa was pointed out by Jews, Turks, and Armenians as Jacob's well, where "for twice "seven years he served his uncle La-"ban for fair and beautiful Rachel." —*Travels, in Harleian Coll.* i. 716.

of a slave, thrice over, did Jacob pay. He is the faithful Eastern "good shepherd;" "that which was torn of beasts he "brought not unto his master; he bare the loss of it; of his "hand" did his hard taskmaster "require it, whether stolen "by day or stolen by night; in the day the drought" of the desert "consumed him, and the frost" in the cold Eastern nights; "and his sleep departed from him." In Edessa, as we have seen, was laid up for many centuries what professed to be the tent in which he had guarded his master's flocks. And at last his fortunes were built up; the slave became a prince; and the second migration took place from Mesopotamia into Palestine, "with much cattle, 'with male and "'female slaves,' with camels and with [1] asses." The hour was come. As in the earlier flight of Abraham from the same region, the double motive is put before us: "And Jacob "beheld the countenance of Laban, and behold it was not "towards him as before." "And the Lord said unto Jacob, "Return unto the land of thy fathers and to thy kindred, "and I will be with [2] thee." "He rose up," and once again high upon the backs of camels he set his sons and his wives, and he fled with all that he had; and Rachel stole the teraphim, the household gods of her family; and "he rose "up and passed over the" great "river, and set his face"—not, as Abraham, towards Damascus,—but right away to the south-west, to the long range of Gilead, the line of heights on the east of the Jordan which stand as outposts between Palestine and the Assyrian desert. On the seventh day the pursuers overtook the fugitives. On the undulating downs of Gilead the two lines of tents were pitched; and in the midst of the encampment of Jacob rose the five tents of himself and of his wives, the camels and the cattle moored around, the seats and furniture of the camels stowed within

Jacob at Gilead.

[1] Gen. xxx. 43.

[2] Gen. xxxi. 2, 3.

the covering of the tents. As in later times, the fortress on these heights of Gilead became the frontier post of Israel against the Aramaic tribe that occupied Damascus, so now the same line of heights became the frontier between the nation in its youth and the older Aramaic family of Mesopotamia. As now the confines of two Arab tribes are marked by the rude cairn or pile of stones erected at the boundary of their respective territories, so the pile of stones and the tower or pillar erected by the two tribes of Jacob[1] and Laban, marked that the natural limit of the range of Gilead should be their actual limit also. "The "God of Abraham and the God of Nahor," — here for the first and last time mentioned together, — "was to judge "betwixt them." The variation of the dialects of the two tribes appears also for the first and last time in the two names of the memorial. The sacrificial feast of the covenant was made on the mountain-top; "And early in the morning "Laban rose up and kissed his sons and his daughters, and "blessed them; and Laban departed, and returned to his "place;" and in him and his tribe, as they sweep out of sight into the Eastern Desert, we lose the last trace of the connexion of Israel with the Chaldæan Ur or the Mesopotamian Haran.

Jacob at Mahanaim.

3. It was the termination also of the dark and uncertain prelude of Jacob's life. The original sin, the exile, the transgression in which the founder of the Israelites was born and bred, was held up always before their eyes, a mixed ground of warning and thanksgiving. "Thy first father "hath [2] sinned." "Thou wast called a transgressor from the "[3] womb." "Thou shalt say, A Syrian ready to perish was "my [4] father." But this is now over. Every incident and expression in the Sacred narrative tends to fix our attention

[1] Gen. xxxi. 47, 48, 49.
[2] Isa. xliii. 27.
[3] Isa. xlviii. 8.
[4] Deut. xxvi. 5.

on this point of the Patriarch's story, as the climax and turn of the whole. He is the exile returning home after years of wandering. He is the chief, raised by his own efforts and God's providence to a high place amongst the tribes of the earth. He stands like Abraham on the heights of Bethel; like Moses on the heights of Pisgah; overlooking from the watch-tower, "the Mizpeh" of Gilead, the whole extent of the land which was to be called after his name. The deep valley of the Jordan, stretched below, recalls the mighty change of fortune. "With my staff I passed over this Jor-"dan, and now I am become two bands." The wide descent of the valley southward towards the distant mountains of Seir, reminds him of the contest which may be in store for him from the advancing tribe of his brother of Edom. But the story sets before us a deeper than any mere external change or struggle. It is as though the twenty years of exile and servitude had wrought their work. Every incident and word is fraught with a double meaning; in every instance earthly and spiritual images are put one over against the other, hardly to be seen in the English version, but in the original clearly intended. Other forms than his own company are surrounding him; another Face than that of his brother[1] Esau is to welcome his return to the land of his birth and kindred. He was become two "bands" or "hosts;" he had divided his people, his flocks and herds and camels into two "hosts;" he had sent "messengers" before to announce his approach. But "as Jacob went on his "way the 'messengers' of GOD met him;" as when he had seen them ascending and descending the stair of heaven at Bethel; and "when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host: and

[1] "Afterward I will see his (Esau's) "face."—*Gen.* xxxii. 20. Jacob called the name of the place "the Face of "God: for I have seen God face to "face," xxxii. 30. "I have seen thy "face (Esau's) as though I had seen "the face of God," xxxiii. 10.

"he called the name of that place Mahanaim;" that is, "The Two Hosts." The name was handed on to after ages, and the place became the sanctuary of the Transjordanic tribes. He was still on the heights of the Transjordanic hills, beyond the deep defile where the Jabbok, as its name implies, "wrestles" with the mountains through which it descends to the Jordan. In the dead of night he sent his wives and sons and all that he had, across the defile, and he was left alone; and in the darkness and stillness, in the crisis of his life, in the agony of his fear for the issue of the morrow, there "wrestled" with him One whose name he knew not, until the dawn rose over the hills of Gilead. They "wrestled," and he prevailed; yet not without bearing away the marks of the [1] conflict. He is saved, as elsewhere, in his whole career, so here; "saved, yet so as by fire." In that struggle, in that seal and crown of his life, he wins his new [2] name. "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob ('The "Supplanter'), but Israel ('The Prince of God'), for as a "prince hast thou power with God and with man, and hast "prevailed." The dark crafty character of the youth, though never wholly lost — for "Jacob" he still is called even to the end of his days — has been by trial and affliction changed into the princelike, godlike character of his manhood. And what was He with whom he had wrestled in the visions of the night, and who vanished from his grasp as the day was breaking? "Tell me, I pray thee, *thy* name. And He "said, 'Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after My name?' "And He blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of "the place Peniel (that is, 'The Face of God');—for I have "seen God face to face, and my life is preserved. And as he "passed over Penuel, the sun," of which the dawn had been

Jacob at Peniel.

[1] Like the thorn in the flesh, 2 Cor. xii. 7 (Ewald, i. 461, note).

[2] "*Israel*" seems to be a double play on the word *sarah*, "to be a prince" and also "to fight" (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1338).

already breaking, "'burst' upon him; and he halted upon his "[1] thigh."

Many memorials, outward and inward, remain of that vision. "The children of Israel," and the children of Abyssinia also, "eat not of the sinew which [2] shrank, unto "this day." This was one remembrance traced back to the old ancestral victory. Another was the watch-tower of Peniel, which years afterwards guarded the passes of the Jordan, when Gideon[3] pursued the Midianites who were retreating back into their eastern haunts, by the same approach through which the tribe of Jacob was now advancing. But a more enduring memorial is the application, almost without an allegory, into which that mysterious encounter shapes itself, as an image of the like struggles and wrestlings, in all ages of the Church, on the eve of some dreadful crisis, in the solitude and darkness of some overhanging trial. It was already so understood in part by the Prophets,—"He "had power over the angel and prevailed; *he wept and made "supplication unto* [4] *him.*" And in modern times this aspect of the story finds its best application in the noble hymn of Charles Wesley:

"Come, O thou Traveller unknown,
Whom still I hold, but cannot see!
My company before is gone,
And I am left alone with Thee:
With Thee all night I mean to stay,
And wrestle till the break of day.

. . . . . .

[1] The moral aspects of this story are well brought out by Mr. Robertson (*Sermons*, i. 40).

[2] The Jews abstain on this account from the *backs* of animals. See Rosenmüller *ad loc.*

[3] Judges viii. 8, 9.

[4] Hos. xii. 4. The words quoted in italics are independent of the account in Gen. xxxii. 27. Dr. Wolff describes the religious exercises of the Dervishes as resembling an actual wrestle, and conducted with such vehemence as actually to dislocate their joints.—*Travels and Adventures*, ch. xxii.

"Yield to me now, for I am weak;
But confident in self-despair:
Speak to my heart, in blessings speak:
Be conquer'd by my instant prayer.
Speak! or thou never hence shalt move,
And tell me if thy Name be Love.

"My prayer hath power with God: the grace
Unspeakable I now receive;
Through faith I see Thee face to face —
I see Thee face to face and live!
In vain I have not wept and strove —
Thy Nature and thy Name is Love."

The retirement of Esau.

4. The dreaded meeting with Esau has passed; the two brothers retain their characters through the interview: the generosity of the one, and the caution of the other. And for the last time Esau retires to make room for Jacob; he leaves to him the land of his inheritance, and disappears on his way to the wild mountains of [1]Seir. In those wild mountains, in the red hills of Edom, in the caves and excavations to which the soft sandstone rocks so readily lend themselves, in the cliffs which afterwards gave to the settlement the name of "Sela" or "Petra," lingered the ancient aboriginal tribe of the [2]Horites or dwellers in the holes of the rock. These "the "children of Esau succeeded, and destroyed from before them, "and dwelt in their [3]stead." It was the rough rocky country described in their father's blessing: a savage dwelling, "away[4] "from the fatness of the earth and the dew of heaven;" by the sword they were to live; a race of hunters among the mountains; their nearest allies, the Arabian tribe [5]Nebaioth.

[1] Seir = woody, hairy. There is still the *es-Sherah*, or downs, slightly tufted and possibly contrasted with the *bald* mountains of Petra itself. Compare Josh. xi. 17; xii. 7; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 20, § 3.

[2] "Seir" and "the Horite" go together, Gen. xxxvi. 20.

[3] Deut. ii. 12, 22.

[4] This seems the most probable rendering of Gen. xxvii. 39 (see Kalisch *ad loc.*); Comp. Jos. *Ant.* i. 18, § 7.

[5] Gen. xxviii. 9; xxxvi. 3.

Together dwelt the conquering Edomites and the remnant of the Horites, each under their respective [1] chiefs, whose names are preserved in long lines down to the time of David. Petra, the mysterious, secluded city, with its thousand caves, is the lasting monument of their local habitation.

The Book of Job.

May we not also trace their connexion with a monument still more instructive — the name and the scene of the book of Job? When, where, and by whom that wonderful book was written, we need not here pause to ask. Yet, as we take leave of Esau and his race, we can hardly forbear to notice the numerous traces which connect the scene of the story with the land of Edom, with the mysterious rocks of Petra. Uz, Eliphaz, Teman, are all names more or less connected with the Idumæan chiefs. The description of the aboriginal tribes, expelled from their seats and living in the cliffs and caves of the rocks, well suits the flight of the Horites before the conquering [2] Edomites. The description of the wonders of Egypt — the war horse, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile — well suits the dweller in Idumæan [3] Arabia. So the Septuagint translators understood even the name of Job, as identical with the Edomite Jobab, and fixed his exact place in the history of the [4] tribe. Perhaps, after all, the position of the story is left in designed obscurity. But it would be in strict accordance with the tenderness which the older Scriptures exhibit towards the better qualities of Esau, that the one book admitted into the Sacred Canon, of which the subject is not a member of the Chosen People, should bring before us those better qualities in their purest form — suspected innocence frankly asserting itself against false religious pretensions; the generosity of the Patriarchal chief without his

[1] *Allûph* = "ox," or "companion," almost always used of Edom; translated "duke" (Gen. xxxvi. 15–19, 21, 29, 30; 1 Chron. i. 51).

[2] Job xxx. 3–8; comp. Deut. ii. 22.

[3] Ib. xxxix. 18; xli. 34.

[4] Ib. xlii. 16 (LXX.). For Jobab see Gen. xxxvi. 33. Comp. also Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr.* 796–798.

levity. "When the ear heard him, then it blessed him; "when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him. He chose "out their way, and sate chief, and dwelt as a king in the "army, as one that comforteth the [1]mourners."

So we part with the house of Esau, at least for the time, in peace, and return to the main stream of the history, Jacob and his latter days.

5. He too moves onward. From the summit of Mount Gerizim the eye rests on the wide opening in the eastern hills beyond the Jordan, which marks the issue of the Jabbok into the Jordan valley. Through that opening, straight towards Gerizim and Shechem, Jacob descends "in peace"[2] and triumph.

Settlement at Shechem.

At every stage of his progress henceforward we are reminded that it is the second, and not the first settlement of Palestine, that is now unfolding itself. It is no longer, as in the case of Abraham, the purely pastoral life; it is the gradual transition from the pastoral to the agricultural. Jacob, on his first descent from the downs of Gilead, is no longer a mere dweller in tents; he "builds him an *house*;" he makes "*booths*" or "*huts*" for his cattle, and therefore the name of the place is [3]called "Succoth." He advances across the Jordan; he comes to Shechem in the heart of Palestine, whither Abraham had come before him. But it is no longer the uninhabited "place" and grove; it is "the city" of Shechem, and "before the city" his tent is pitched. And he comes not merely as an Arabian wanderer, but as with a fixed aim and fixed habitation in view. He sets his eye on the rich plain which stretches eastward of the city, now, as eighteen centuries ago, and then, as twenty centuries yet before, "white already to the [4]harvest" with its waving corn

[1] Job. xxix. 11, 25.

[2] Gen. xxxiii. 18, "to Shalem;" more accurately, "in peace." For the "triumph" see xlviii. 22.

[3] Gen. xxxiii. 17.

[4] John iv. 35.

fields. This, and not a mere sepulchre like the cave of Machpelah, is the possession which he purchases from the inhabitants of the land. The very pieces of money with which he buys the land are not merely weighed, as in the bargain with Ephron; they are stamped with the earliest mark of coinage, the figures of the lambs of the [1]flocks. In this vale of Shechem the Patriarch rests, as in a permanent home. Beersheba, Hebron, even Bethel, are nothing to him in comparison with this one chosen portion, which is to descend to his favourite son. Yet it is not his altogether by the peaceful occupation which at first seems implied. Two indications remain to us of a more warlike character. One is the word of the aged Patriarch to his son Joseph, as of the expiring flash of the spirit of an ancient conqueror: "Moreover I have given "to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out "of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my "[2]bow." It may allude to the bloody conquest of Shechem by Simeon and Levi; but the turn of expression ("*I* have "given thee . . . . with *my* sword and *my* bow") rather points to incidents of the original settlement, not preserved in the regular narrative. The other indication is omitted altogether in the Hebrew record, but remains even unto this day. Outside the green vale of Shechem, but in "the "portion of the field east of the city," is the ancient well, which can hardly be doubted to be the one claimed at the Christian era by the Samaritans as "the well of "their father Jacob, who drank thereof himself, and his "children, and his [3]cattle." A natural question arises at the sight of this well, why it was necessary to dig it at all, when so close at hand in the valley which falls into this plain are streams of living water, which might have been

[1] Gen. xxxiii. 19. See Cardinal Wiseman's *Lectures*, ii. 197.

[2] Gen. xlviii. 22.

[3] John iv. 12. See *Sinai and Palestine*, ch. v.

thought to render it superfluous? The answer has been [1]made with all appearance of probability, that it could only have been so dug by one who was unwilling to trust for his supply of water to the stronger and hostile inhabitants of the cultivated valley. It is, if so, an actually existing monument of the suspicious attitude of the old Patriarch towards his neighbours, and of his habitual prudence —"fearful lest, he "being few in number, the inhabitants of the land should "gather themselves together and slay him and his house."

6. It is with the latest portion of Jacob's life that are most closely interwoven those cords of natural and domestic affection which so bind his name round our hearts. He revisits then his old haunts at Bethel and Beersheba. The ancient servant of his house, Deborah, his mother's nurse, the only link which survived between him and the face which he should see no more, dies, and is not forgotten, but is buried beneath the hill of Bethel, under the oak well-known to the many who passed that way in later times as Allon-bachuth, "The Oak of Tears." He advances yet a day's journey southward. They draw near to a place then known only by its ancient Canaanite name, and now for the first time mentioned in history, "Ephratah, which is Bethlehem." The village appears spread along its narrow ridge, but they are not to reach it. "There was but a little way "to come to Ephrath, and Rachel travailed, and she had hard "labour. . . . And it came to pass, as her soul was in de-"parting, for she died, that she called the name of the child "Ben-oni (that is, 'the son of sorrow'); but his father called "him Ben-jamin (that is, 'the son of my right hand'). And "Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath. And "Jacob set a pillar on her grave, that is the pillar of Rachel's "grave unto this [2]day." The pillar has long disappeared,

The Oak Deborah.

The grave of Rachel.

[1] Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 286.

[2] Gen. xxxv. 16–20.

but its memory has remained. After the allotment of the country to the several tribes, the territory of the Benjamites was extended by a long strip far into the south to include the sepulchre of their beloved [1]ancestress. As late as the Christian era, when the infants of [2]Bethlehem were slaughtered by Herod, it seemed to the Evangelist as though the voice of Rachel were heard weeping for her children from her neighbouring grave. On the spot indicated by the sacred narrative, a rude cupola, under the name of Rachel's tomb, still attracts the reverence of Christians, Jews, and Mussulmans.

Beside "the watch-tower of the [3]flocks," in the same region where centuries afterwards there were still "shepherds "abiding in the fields, watching over their flocks by night," Israel spread his desolate tent; and onward he went yet again to Hebron, "to bury his father in the cave of Machpelah," and to linger awhile at the spot "in the land wherein his "father was a stranger." In the mixture of agricultural and pastoral life which now gathers round him, is laid the train of the last and most touching incidents of Jacob's story. It is whilst they are feeding their father's flocks together, that the fatal envy arises against the favourite son. It is whilst they are binding the sheaves in the well-known cornfield that Joseph's sheaf stands upright in his dream. On the confines of the same field at Shechem, the brothers were feeding their flocks, when Joseph was sent from Hebron to "see whether it was well with his brethren, and well with "the flocks, and to bring his father word again." And from Shechem he followed them to the two wells of [4]Dothan, in the passes of Manasseh, when the caravan of Arabian merchants passed by and he disappeared from his father's eyes. His history belongs henceforth to a wider sphere. The

The stay at Hebron.

[1] 1 Sam. x. 2.
[2] Matt. ii. 18.
[3] Edar. Gen. xxxv. 21; Luke ii. 8.
[4] *Sinai and Palestine*, 247.

glimpse of Egypt, opened to us for a moment in the life of Abraham, now spreads into a vast and permanent prospect.

7. This shall be reserved for the consideration of the general relations of Israel to Egypt. But the story itself, though too familiar to be repeated here, too simple to need any elaborate elucidation, is a fitting close to the life of Jacob. Once more he is to set forth on his pilgrimage. The old wanderer, the Hebrew Ulysses, has still a new call, a new migration, new trials, and new glory before him. The feeling so beautifully described by the modern poet is there first shadowed forth in action: The descent of Jacob into Egypt.

> "Something ere the end,
> Some work of noble note may yet be done . . . .
> 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world . . . .
> Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

He came to the frontier plain of Beersheba; he received the assurance that beyond that frontier he was to descend yet further into Egypt. "God spake unto Israel in the "visions of the night, and said, Jacob, Jacob. And he said, "Here am I. And He said, I am God, the God of thy "father; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make "of thee a great nation." He "went down" from the steppes of Beersheba; he crossed the desert and met his son on the border of the cultivated land; he was brought into the presence of the great Pharaoh; he saw his race established in the land of Egypt. And then the time drew near that Israel must die; and his one thought, oftentimes repeated, was that his bones should not rest in that strange land; not in pyramid or painted chamber, but in the cell that "he had "digged for himself," in the primitive sepulchre of his fathers. "Bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt, but I will "lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt,

"and bury me in their burial-place. . . . Bury me with my "fathers, in the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hit- "tite, in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is "before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham "bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession "of a burial-place. There they buried Abraham and Sarah "his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; "and there I buried Leah. The purchase of the field and "of the cave that is therein was from the children of Heth.

The death of Jacob.

"And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his "sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed and yielded up "the ghost, and was gathered to his people." His body was embalmed after the manner of the Egyptians. A vast funeral procession bore it away; the asses and the camels of the pastoral tribe mingled with the chariots and horsemen characteristic of Egypt. They came (so the narrative seems to imply) not by the direct road which the Patriarchs had hitherto traversed on their way to Egypt by El-Arish, but round the long circuit by which Moses afterwards led their descendants, till they arrived on the banks of the Jordan. Further than this the Egyptian escort came not. But the valley of the Jordan resounded with the loud shrill lamentations peculiar to their ceremonial of mourning; and with the funeral games with which, then as now, the Arabs encircle the tomb of a departed chief. From this double tradition the spot was known in after times as "the meadow," or "the mourning," "of the Egyptians," *Abel-Mizraim*; and as *Beth-hogla*, "the house of the circling dance." "And his sons "carried him into the land of Canaan and buried him in "the cave of the field of Machpelah. . . . And Joseph re- "turned into Egypt, he and all his brethren, and all that "went up with him, . . . after he had buried his father."

LECTURE IV.

ISRAEL IN EGYPT.

THE appearance of Joseph in Egypt is the first distinct point of contact between sacred and secular history, and it is, accordingly, not surprising that in later times this part of his story should have become the basis of innumerable fancies and traditions outside the limits of the Biblical narrative. His arrival in Egypt, his acquisition of magical art, his beauty, his interpretation of dreams, his prediction of the famine, his favour with the king, are told briefly but accurately in the compilation of the historian [1]Justin. The feud of the modern Samaritans and Jews is carried up by them to the feud between Joseph and his [2]brethren. The history of Joseph and Asenath is to this day one of the canonical books of the Church of Armenia. To the description of the loves of Joseph and Zuleika in the Koran, Mahomet appealed as one of the chief proofs of his inspiration. Christian pilgrims of the middle ages took for granted that the three or the seven pyramids which they saw from the Nile could be nothing else than Joseph's [3]barns. The well of Joseph and the canal of Joseph are still shown to unsuspecting travellers by unsuspecting guides, from a wild but not unnatural confusion of his career with that of his great Mussulman namesake, the Sultan Yussuf, or Joseph,

[1] Justin, xxxvi. 2. Comp. also Artapanus, in *Euseb. Pr. Ev.* ix. 23.

[2] Wolff, *Travels*, &c. ch. vii.

[3] Maundeville, in *Early Trav.* 154.

Saladin I. But the most solid links of connexion between the story of Joseph and the state of the ancient world, are those which are supplied by the simple story itself on the one hand, and our constantly increasing knowledge of the Egyptian monuments on the other hand.

Joseph in Egypt.

I. It has been said that Egypt[1] must have presented to the nomadic tribes of Asia the same contrast and the same attractions that Italy and the southern provinces of the Roman Empire presented to the Gothic and Celtic tribes who descended upon them from beyond the Alps. Such is, in fact, the impression left upon our minds when we are first introduced into the full view of Egypt, as we follow in the track of the caravan of Arabian merchants who carried off Joseph from the wells of Dothan. We need only touch on the main incidents in the story to see that it is the chief seat of power and civilisation then known in the world, and that it is the same as that of which the memorials have been so wonderfully preserved to our own time. What I have said of the retention of the outward appearance of the Patriarchs in the unchangeable customs of the Arabian tribes, is true, in another sense, of the retention of the outward appearance of the Pharaohs in the unchangeable monuments of Egypt. The extraordinary clearness and dryness of the climate, the singular vicinity of the desert sands which have preserved what they have overwhelmed, the passionate desire of the old Egyptians to perpetuate every familiar and loved object as long as human power and skill could reach, have all contributed to this result. The wars, the amusements, the meals, the employments, the portraits, nay even the very bodies, of those ancient fathers of the civilised world are still amongst us. We can form a clearer image of the court of

Egypt.

[1] The Biblical names of Egypt are *Mizraim* (possibly from the *two* banks, or the *upper* and *lower* districts), and *Ham* (dark). Traces of both remain—the one in the Arabic name of Cairo, *Misr:* the other in the word "al*chemy*," "*chemi*stry," as derived from the medical fame of ancient Egypt.

the Pharaohs, in all external matters, than we can of the Court of Augustus. And, therefore, at each successive disclosure of the state of Egypt in the Sacred narrative, we find ourselves amongst old friends and familiar faces. We know not whether we may not have touched a human hand that was pressed by the hand of Jacob or Joseph. We are sure, as we gaze on the contemporary pictures of regal or social life, that we are seeing the very same customs and employments in which they partook.

We see Pharaoh surrounded by the great officers of his court, each at the head of his department, responsible, as at the present day, for the conduct of every one beneath him; the prison, the bakery, the vintage, the wise men, the [1]stewards, the priests, the high priest. The Nile presents itself to us for the first time under its peculiar Hebrew [2]name, which indicates its strange and unique significance amongst the rivers of the earth. The [3]papyrus, which then grew in its stream, is now extinct; but the green slip of land, *achu*, — "meadow," as it is [4]translated, runs along its banks now, as then. Out of its waters, swimming across its stream, come up the buffaloes or the sacred kine, as in Pharaoh's dream, the fit symbols of the leanness or the fertility of the future years. The drought which withers up the herbage of the surrounding countries, brings famine on Egypt also. The Nile[5] (so we must of necessity interpret the vision of Pharaoh and its fulfilment), from the failure of the Abyssinian rains, fell short of its due level. Twice only, in the eleventh and in the twelfth cen-

[1] See Mr. Goodwin's Essay (*Cambridge Essays*, 1858, p. 248).

[2] "Ior" and "Sichor" (*Sinai and Palestine*, Appendix, § 36). In Egyptian it was "Hapi-Mu," the genius (*Apis*) of the waters (*mu*). The word "Nile" is derived from an Egyptian word signifying "blue. Wilkinson, v. 57; Sharpe, 145.

[3] Job viii. 11; Isa. xviii. 2; Ex. ii. 3.

[4] Gen. xli. 2; *Sinai and Palestine*, App. § 18.

[5] It is explained by Osburn (*Monumental Egypt*, ii. 135) by the bursting of a great inland lake, and the consequent reaction.

turies of the Christian era, such a catastrophe is described by Arabian historians in terms which give us a full conception of the calamity from which Joseph delivered the country. The first lasted, like that of Joseph, for seven years: of the other, the most fearful details are given by an eyewitness. "Then the year presented itself as a monster whose wrath "must annihilate all the resources of life and all the means "of subsistence. The famine began . . . large numbers "emigrated. . . . The poor ate carrion, corpses, and dogs. ". . . They went further, devouring even little children. "The eating of human flesh became so common as to excite "no surprise. . . . The people spoke and heard of it as of an "indifferent thing. . . . As for the number of the poor who "perished from hunger and exhaustion, God alone knows "what it was. . . . A traveller often passed through a large "village without seeing a single living inhabitant. . . . In "one village we saw the dwellers of each house extended "dead, the husband, the wife, and the children. . . . In an-"other, where till late there had been four hundred weaving "shops, we saw in like manner the weaver dead in his corn-"pit, and all his dead family round him. We were here re-"minded of the text of the Koran, 'One single cry was "heard, and 'they all perished.' The road between Egypt "and Syria was like a vast field sown with human bodies, "or rather like a plain which has just been swept by the "scythe of the mower. It had become as a banquet hall for "the birds, wild beasts, and dogs, which gorged on their flesh." These are but a few[1] of the horrors which Abd-el-Latif details, and which may well explain to us how "the land of Egypt "fainted by reason of the famine,"—how the cry came up

[1] The whole narrative is given by Abd-el-Latif (*Relation de l'Egypte*, ii. ch. 2, A.D. 1200). Large extracts are given in Miss Martineau's *Eastern Travel*, ch. 20. The earlier famine (A.D. 1064–1071) is described by El-Macrizi (see Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, "Famine").

year by year to Joseph: "Give us bread, for why should we "die in thy presence? Wherefore shall we die before thine "eyes, both we and our land? Buy us and our land for "bread, and we and our land will be 'slaves' to Pharaoh; "and give us seed that we may live and not die, and that "the land be not desolate. . . . Thou hast saved our lives; "let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will "be Pharaoh's 'slaves.'" What were the permanent results of the legislation ascribed to Joseph, and what its relations to the regulations ascribed to others in Gentile historians, are questions which belong to the still obscure region of Egyptian history. But there is no difficulty in conceiving from what is to be seen in the past and the present state of Egypt the causes and the nature of Joseph's greatness; how the Hebrew slave, through the rapid transitions of Oriental life, became the ruler of the land; in language, dress, and appearance a member of the great Egyptian aristocracy, "binding their princes at his pleasure, and "teaching their senators wisdom." He is invested with the golden chain or necklace as with an order, exactly according to the investiture of the royal officers, as represented in the Theban [1] sculptures. He is clothed in the white robe of sacred state, that appears in such marked contrast on the tawny figures of the ancient priests. He bears the royal ring, such as are still found in the earliest sepulchres. He rides in the royal chariot that is seen so often rolling its solemn way in the monumental processions. Before him goes the cry of some Egyptian shout [2] (*Abrech!*), evidently resembling those which now in the streets of Cairo clear the way for any great personage driving [3] through the crowded masses of man and beast. His Hebrew name of Joseph disappears in the sounding Egyptian title, whichever

Joseph as Pharaoh's viceroy.

[1] See Wilkinson, plate 80.
[2] Gen. xli. 43.
[3] Compare 1 Sam. viii. 11; 2 Sam. xv. 1; 1 Kings i. 5.

version of it we adopt,—Zaphnath Paaneach, "Revealer of secrets," or [1]Psonthom Phanêch, "Saviour of the age." He becomes the son-in-law of the High Priest of the Sun-God in the sacred city of On. He and his wife Asenath, the servant of the goddess Neith (the Egyptian Athene or Minerva), may henceforth be conceived, as in the many connubial monuments of the priestly order, each with their arms intertwined round the other's neck, each looking out from the other's embrace with the peculiar placid look which makes these old Egyptian tablets the earliest type of the solemn happiness and calm of a stately marriage. The multiplication of his progeny is compared, not to the stars of the Chaldæan heavens, or to the sand of the Syrian shore, but to the countless fish swarming in the great Egyptian [2]river. Not till his death, and hardly even then, does he return to the customs of his fathers. He is embalmed with Egyptian skill, and laid in the usual Egyptian case or coffin. He rests not in any Egyptian tomb, but yet not, even as his father, in the ancestral cave of Machpelah. An Israelite at heart but an Egyptian in outward form, "separate from his brethren" by the singular Providence that had chosen him for a special purpose, he was to lie apart from the great Patriarchal family in the fairest spot in Palestine marked out specially for himself. In the rich corn-field, hard by his father's well, centuries afterwards, "the bones of Joseph, which the children "of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, "in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of "Hamor the father of Shechem for a hundred pieces of "silver." The whole region round became by this consecration "the inheritance of the sons of [3]Joseph." And if the name of Joseph never reached the same commanding

[1] This is the form given to the name in the Septuagint. See Knobel's *Genesis*, 284.

[2] Gen. xlviii. 20 Heb. (with Mr. Grove's comments in *Dictionary of the Bible*, "Manasseh").

[3] Joshua, xxiv. 32.

eminence as that of Abraham or Jacob, it was yet a frequent designation of the whole people, and a constant designation of the larger [1] portion.

Stay of Israel in Egypt.

II. Thus ended the career of the Hebrew viceroy of the Pharaohs. And so "Israel abode in Egypt, and Jacob was "a stranger in the land of Ham." In this transplantation of the Chosen People, the vine was to strike its first roots. From the same valley of the Nile, whence flowed the culture of Greece, was to flow also the religion of Palestine. That same land of ancient learning, which in the schools of Alexandria was, ages afterwards, the first settled home and shelter of the wandering Christian Church, was also the first settled home and shelter of the wandering Jewish nation. Egypt was the meeting point, geographically and historically, of the three continents of the ancient world. It could not but bear its part in the nurture of that people which was itself to influence and guide them all.

In considering the stay of Israel in Egypt, two complicated questions arise. The first refers to the relation of Israel to the dynasty of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, of whom we read in [2] Manetho. Were they the same? or, if different, did the Shepherd Kings precede, or accompany, or succeed the settlement of the Israelites? The second question, partly dependent on the first, refers to the length of the period of the Israelite settlement. Was it two hundred and fifteen [3] years (according to the Septuagint), or four hundred and thirty years (according to the Hebrew), or a thousand years according to the modern computations of Egyptian

[1] Ps. lxxvii. 15; lxxviii. 67; lxxx. 1; lxxxi. 5.

[2] Joseph. *c. Apion*, i. 26.

[3] For the 215 years: (1) LXX. and Samaritan text of Ex. xii. 40; (2) Jos. *Ant.* ii. 15, § 2; viii. 3, § 1; (3) The division implied in Gal. iii. 17; (4) πεμπτῇ γενεᾷ, Ex. xiii. 18, LXX.; (5) Genealogy of Moses, Ex. vi. 16–20.

For the 430 years: (1) Hebrew of Ex. xii. 40; (2) Gen. xv. 13–16; (3) Acts vii. 6; (4) Jos. *B. J.* ii. 9, 1; v. 9, 4; (5) 600,000 fighting men; (6) Genealogy of Joshua, 1 Chron. vii. 27.

chronology? We need not enter on any detailed answer. Not only are the present materials too conflicting and too scanty to justify any certain conclusion, but there is, we may trust, a reasonable prospect that any conclusion now formed may be modified or reversed by fresh discoveries in Egyptian investigations. Two facts, however, emerge out of the obscurity, essential to the understanding of the future history.

The Shepherd Kings, and pastoral state of Israel.

1. First, whatever may be the true version of the invasion of the Shepherd Kings, the migration of the Israelites into Egypt was undoubtedly that of a pastoral people, distinct in manners, customs, and origin from the nation with whom they sojourned. "The shepherds," even then, "were "an abomination to the Egyptians," and when Herodotus was told that the Pyramids were built by the shepherd [1] Philition, who used to feed his flocks at their base, it was an echo of the long protracted hatred which the Egyptians still cherished against the memory of the pastoral tribe of Palestine. "Thy servants are shepherds, "thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our "youth, even until now; both we and also our fathers; they "have brought their flocks and herds, and all that they "[2] have." They were a Bedouin tribe still, as truly as the Arab tribes who now tend their camels underneath the Pyramids. The only incidents of their history during this period belong to this pastoral state, — the incursion of the inhabitants of Gath to drive away the cattle of the Ephraimites, and the revenge of the [3] Ephraimites. The land of Goshen was the frontier land, reckoned as in Arabia rather than in Egypt; on the confines of the green valley, yet on the verge of the yellow desert, they fed their flocks, they watched the royal herds. In one of the most ancient of all the tombs of Egypt, that called from the wild Arab

[1] Herod. ii. 127.
[2] Gen. xlvi. 32, 34; xlvii. 3.
[3] 1 Chron. vii. 21–23; viii. 13.

tribe which once dwelt in it, Beni Hassan, — the children of Hassan,—is depicted a procession which used once to be called the presentation of Joseph's brethren. This it certainly is not. There is no person in the picture corresponding either to Joseph or Pharaoh. Nor is there any exactness of likeness either in the numbers of the persons represented, or of the produce which they bring. But, though not bearing any direct reference to this special event, it is yet an instructive illustration of the general relation of the Israelites to Egypt. The dresses, physiognomy, and beards of the procession point them out to be [1]foreigners; whilst their attitude and appearance equally show that they are not captives. The produce they bring is evidently from the desert, long herds of ostriches. The character which pervades the whole—children carried in panniers on the backs of asses[2]—exactly agrees with the Patriarchal nature of the first Israelite settlement.

The servitude of Israel.

2. If this, and like indications, illustrate the earlier portion of the stay in Egypt, the ancient representations and the modern customs, which seem to have retained through all the changes of government a peculiar character of their own, illustrate the second portion. When the "new king "arose that knew not Joseph," whether from change of dynasty or character, they sank lower still; they became, like so many ancient tribes in older times, the public serfs or slaves of the ruling race. Like the Pelasgians in Attica, like the Gibeonites afterwards in their own Palestine, they were employed, if not in those gigantic works which still speak of the sacrifice and toil of the multitudes by whom they were erected, yet in making bricks for treasure cities and fastnesses, as may be seen in the representations of the Theban tombs, where Asiatics at least, if not Jews, are

[1] See Brugsch, *Hist. de l'Egypte*, i. 62.

[2] See below, p. 94.

shown working by hundreds at this very occupation. Not only was there the well-known brick pyramid, probably long anterior to the Israelite migration, but all the outer enclosures of cities, temples, and tombs, were high [1] walls of crude brick. And they were also drawn away from their free trade of shepherds to the hard labour of "service in the [2] field," such as we still see along the banks of the Nile, where the peasants, naked under the burning sun, work through the day, like pieces of machinery, in drawing up the buckets of water from the level of the river for the irrigation of the fields [3] above. The cruel punishment which is described as aggravating their bondage, as when Moses saw the Egyptian striking the Israelite, and as when the Israelite officers set over their countrymen were themselves beaten for their countrymen's shortcomings, is the exact likeness of the bastinado, which appears equally on the ancient monuments and in the modern villages of Egypt. The complaint of the Israelites against their own officers is the same feeling which in popular songs is heard from modern Egyptian peasants, for the same reason, against the chiefs of their own village: "The chief of the village, the chief of the village, may "the dogs tear him, tear him, tear him!" It is said that in the gangs of boys and girls set to work along the Nile is to be heard the strophe and antistrophe of a melancholy chorus: "They starve us, they starve us," — "They beat us, they "beat us;" to which both alike reply, "But there's some one "above, there's some one above, who will punish them well, "who will punish them [4] well." This, with but very slight changes, must have been the cry which went up from the afflicted Israelites "by reason of their taskmasters."

[1] See the engraving in Brugsch, 106, 174, 176.
[2] Deut. xi. 10.
[3] See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ch. 14, the Shadoof.
[4] *MS. Journal of a Stay in Egypt*, by Mr. Nassau Senior: 1856.

III. Whatever may have been the precise length of their sojourn or their bondage, it was at any rate long enough to have rendered Egypt thoroughly familiar to them. They seem indeed to have left but slight traces of themselves on Egypt or its monuments. Memphis, which would have been most likely to retain indications of their visit and of their Exodus, has been buried or swept away; and no direct mention of the Jews occurs in any Egyptian sculpture or picture, till the representation of the conquest of Judah by Shishak, many centuries later. But on the Israelites, whether by way of contrast or illustration, the Egyptian worship and manners left an impression almost as distinct and as durable as that which the Roman Empire, under analogous circumstances in long subsequent ages, implanted on the customs and feelings of the early Christian Church. Effects of their stay in Egypt.

1. Take first the scene with which they were most likely to come into contact. We know not with certainty the chief city of the Egyptian empire at the time of the entrance or of the flight of the Israelites. Memphis was probably the capital, at least of Lower Egypt, and the constant mention of the river implies that Pharaoh was then living on its banks. Zoan, or Tanis, is the only town[1] directly mentioned in connexion with this early age. Its situation in the Delta would correspond with the neighbourhood of Goshen; and as it was undoubtedly at one period of Egyptian history the seat of a royal dynasty, so it may have been at the time of the Exodus. There is, however, another city, not the residence of the court, but which is constantly brought before us in connexion with the whole history of Israel, which still in part remains, and which, with the illustrations that it receives from the other Egyptian monuments, may well serve as a framework to our whole conception of Egypt as it appeared Heliopolis.

[1] Num. xiii. 22; Psalm lxxviii. 12.

to the Israelites. [1] On, Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, was the spot in which heathen tradition fixed the residence of Abraham; and, with more certainty, the education—according to one version the birth—of Moses. It was undoubtedly the dwelling-place of Joseph's bride. It was near the land of Goshen. It was close by the later colony of Leontopolis set up by the second settlement of Israel in Egypt, after the Babylonian captivity. It contains the sacred fig-tree shown to pilgrims for many centuries as that under which the Holy Family rested when, for the last time, the ancient prophecy was fulfilled, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son." It is thus connected with every stage of the Sacred history; but its special concern is with the period preceding the Exodus. Even if it was not actually the school of Moses, it must have been constantly within his sight and that of his countrymen, as they passed to and fro between their pastures and the Nile.

It stands on the edge of the cultivated ground. The vast enclosure of its brick walls still remains, now almost powdered into dust; but, according to the tradition of the Septuagint, the very walls built by the Israelite bondmen. Within this enclosure, in the space now occupied by tangled gardens, rose the great Temple of the [2] Sun, which gave its name and object to the city. How important in Egypt was that worship, may be best understood by remembering that from it were derived the chief names by which Kings and Priests were called—"Pha-raoh," "The Child of the Sun:" "Potiphe-rah," "The Servant of the Sun." And what its aspect was in Heliopolis may be known partly from the detailed description which Strabo has left of its buildings, as still

[1] See Brugsch, 254.

[2] On = Light. In Jer. xliii. 13 (LXX. Οὖν) it is called Bethshemesh (the house of the sun), as it was and is still called Ain-shems (the spring of the sun). In Amos i. 5, and Ezek. xxx. 17, it is called "Aven" (vanity), as a play on the word On.

standing in his own time; and yet more from the fact that the one Egyptian temple which to this day retains its sculptures and internal arrangements almost unaltered, that of Ipsambul, is the temple of Ra, or the Sun. In Heliopolis, as elsewhere, was the avenue of sphinxes leading to the huge gateway, whence flew, from gigantic flagstaffs, the red and blue streamers. Before and behind the gateways stood, two by two, the colossal petrifactions of the sunbeam, the [1]obelisks, of which one alone now remains to mourn the loss of all its brethren. Close by was the sacred spring[2] of the Sun, a rare sight in Egypt, and therefore the more precious, and probably the original cause of the selection of this remote corner of Egypt for so famous a sanctuary. This too still remains, almost choked by the rank luxuriance of the aquatic plants which have gathered over its waters. Round the cloisters of the vast courts into which these gateways opened were spacious mansions, forming the canonical residences, if one may so call them, of the priests and professors of On: for Heliopolis, we must remember, was the Oxford of ancient Egypt, the seat of its learning in early times, as Alexandria was in later times; the university, or rather perhaps the college, gathered round the Temple of the Sun, as Christ Church round the old cathedral or shrine of S. Frideswide. Thither Herodotus came to gather information for his travels; and thither, centuries later, the more careful and accurate [3]Strabo. The city in his time was in a state of comparative desolation; it had never fully recovered the shock of the fanatical devastation of Cambyses. A long vacancy, a

[1] The "obelisk" (which is merely the Greek name of "spit," applied in a disparaging spirit to the great works of Egypt) is said to be *uben-ra*, or *uben-la* = "sunbeam," or *petobphra* = "finger of the sun." With one exception, in Fayum, it only occurs on the eastern bank. Bunsen, i. 371; Wilkinson, iv. 294.

[2] It is represented in the Prænestine Mosaic. It appears in Breydenbach's plan, and in the Apocryphal Gospels, as the Spring of the Virgin. See Clarke, v. 142.

[3] xvii. 1.

vacation of centuries, had passed over it. Priests and philosophers, canons and professors, alike were gone, and only a few chaplains and vergers[1] lingered in the sacred precincts, to carry on the service of the Temple and to show strangers over the silent quadrangles and deserted cloisters. Amongst these was pointed out to Strabo the house in which Plato had lived for thirteen years. Perhaps he may have been also shown, or, had he been there a few generations earlier, would have been shown, the house which had received Moses when he studied there under the Egyptian name of [2]Osarsiph. In the centre of all stood the Temple itself. Over the portal, we can hardly doubt, was the figure of the Sun-god; not in the sublime indistinctness of his natural orb, nor yet in the beautiful impersonation of the Grecian Apollo, but in the strange grotesque form of the Hawkheaded monster. Enter; and the dark Temple opens and contracts successively into its outermost, its inner, and its innermost hall; the Osiride figures in their placid majesty support the first, the wild and savage exploits of kings and heroes fill the second; and in the furthest recess of all, underneath the carved figure of the Sun-god, and beside the solid altar, sate in his gilded cage the sacred [3]hawk, or lay crouched on his purple bed the sacred black [4]calf, Mnevis, or Urmer; each the living, almost incarnate, representation of the deity of the Temple. Thrice a day before the deified beast the incense was offered, and once a month the solemn [5]sacrifice. Each on his death was duly embalmed and deposited in a splendid sarcophagus. One such mummy calf is still to be seen at Cairo. He was the great rival of the bull Apis at Memphis; and Hadrian, when in Egypt, had to

[1] *ἱεροποιοί καὶ ἐξηγηταί.*
[2] Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 26, 28.
[3] Wilk. v. 207. For its mode of maintenance, see Diod. Sic. i. 83.
[4] Brugsch, 257.
[5] Wilk. v. 315.

determine a controversy respecting their [1]precedence. The sepulchres of the long succession of deified calves at Heliopolis corresponded to those of the deified bulls at [2]Memphis. It was after seeing such a strange and monstrous climax to so much power and splendour and wisdom, that the Israelites were likely both to need and to feel the force of the warning voice: "Thou shalt not make any likeness of any-"thing that is in the heaven above or in the earth beneath; ". . . the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the "likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the [3]air." The molten calf in the wilderness, the golden calves of Dan and Bethel, were reminiscences, not to be wiped out of the national memory for centuries, of the consecrated calf of Ra, the god Mnevis.

2. There was yet another form of idolatry, never out of sight in Egypt, and brought out with immense force in the whole Mosaic description. What were the dynasties that ruled at that time over the valley of the Nile, one or many, we need not determine. But the name of "Pharaoh" clearly expresses that the same virtue of regal consecration ran through them all; and the name of "Rameses," as applied to one of the treasure [4]cities built by the Israelites, implies, with very great probability, that this name had already become famous amongst the Egyptian kings. The statue, found near the ruins of what is almost certainly the site of Rameses, points without doubt to the second of that name. What then were the Pharaohs collectively in the eyes of the nation? and what was Rameses in particular? and what, above all, was Rameses II.? We often hear it said that Egypt was governed

Idolatry of kings.

[1] In another part of the precincts were shown the sacred lions, which gave its name to the adjacent city of Leontopolis. Wilk. iv. 296.

[2] Brugsch, 259.

[3] Deut. iv. 16, 17; v. 8.

[4] The treasure cities are: (1) Rameses = Heroopolis (Abukeshib). (2) Pithom (in Egyptian *Pachtoum-Sarou*, the *fortress* of the Tyrians (i. e. probably from the Israelites). Brugsch, i. 156. (3) On, LXX.

by a theocracy; that is, as the word is meant when so applied, by a priestly caste. This is not the answer given by her own authentic monuments. Who is the colossal figure that sits, repeated again and again, at the entrance of every temple? Who is it that rides in his chariot, leading diminutive nations captive behind him? Who is it to whom, in the frontispiece of every gateway, the gods give the falchion of destruction, with the command to "Slay, and slay, and slay"? Whose sculptured image, in the interior of the Temple, is it that we see brought into the most familiar relations with the highest powers, equal in form and majesty, suckled by the greatest goddess, fondled by the greatest god, sitting beside them, arm entwined within arm, in the recesses of the most holy place? It is no priest, or prophet, or magician, or saint, but the King only — the Pharaoh, the Child of the Sun, the Beloved of Ammon. And, if there is one king who towers above
Rameses II. all the rest in all the long succession, it is he whose name in history first dimly appears to us in the history of the Exodus, the great [1] Rameses, the Sesostris of the classical writers. As of all objects of idolatry in the natural world of those early times, the stars and sun were the most overwhelming in their fascination, so in all the world of man, there was nothing to be compared to those mighty kings, least of all to the mighty conqueror who has left his traces throughout all the haunts of ancient [2] civilisation in Asia, and from end to end of his own country. With a certainty beyond that with which Alexander was acknowledged as the greatest sovereign of the Grecian, or Cæsar of the Roman world, must Rameses II. have been hailed or feared as the hero of the primeval age before Greece and Rome were [3] born. His very

[1] By Brugsch (i. 156) identified with the Pharaoh of Moses.

[2] Near Sardis, near Beyrout, in Nubia, in Memphis, in Thebes. (See *Sinai and Palestine*, p. li., 117.)

[3] He reigned for sixty-six years, coming to the throne very young, like Louis the Fourteenth. Brugsch, i. 137.

form and face are before us, with a vividness which belongs only to these colossal representations, that refuse to be forgotten. We see his profound yet scornful repose, expressed both in countenance and attitude. We see the long profile, majestic and beautiful beyond any of his successors or predecessors. We see even the peculiar curl of his nostrils, and the fall of his under lip. Such was the Pharaoh who must have looked down on the Israelite sojourners during some one period or generation of their stay in Egypt, probably during the time of their oppression.

Pharaoh.

And such, not in detail but in its general outline, is the image presented to us by the Pharaoh of Scripture. There is no other king of the Patriarchal times represented as nearly on the same level. Nimrod the mighty hunter has been indeed invested by Oriental tradition—perhaps he appears in Assyrian sculptures—with something of the same sanctity and majesty. But he does not so appear in any part of the Sacred narrative. Pharaoh is the only potentate whom Abraham and Jacob alike approach with awful reverence. From Joseph and from Moses alike, whether as friend or foe, he commands the submissive respect of a subject who can of himself do nothing against the royal will. "What God is about to do He showeth unto Pharaoh." "I "am of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken "unto me?" The supreme oath, by which safety of person and property is secured, is "By the life of Pharaoh." Kinglike and priestlike, he stands by the side of the sacred river, and sees in visions the good and evil fortunes of Egypt coming up from its stream. At sunrise he goes out to look upon its beneficent waters, as if it were all his own. At a word he summons princes, and priests, and magicians, and wise men, and interpreters round him. At a word he plants a stranger over his people. "See, I have set thee over all "the land of Egypt. . . . I am Pharaoh, and without thee

"shall no man lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of "Egypt." And when the last great struggle comes on between his power and that of a Greater than himself, it is the struggle rather of a god against the Lord, than of a man against man. He has hardened his heart like the Indian Kehama, rather than like a mortal prince of modern days. If there were any prouder state or loftier dream in the primeval monarchies of Central Asia, it is remarkable that the Eastern traditions of the Exodus merge them in the person of the Egyptian sovereign; and in the Mahometan version of the Exodus, Nimrod and Pharaoh, the builder of the Tower of Babel and the builder of the Pyramids, are blended together in one and the same gigantic, self-sufficing, God-defying king. He stands with one foot on each of the two great Pyramids, and darts his spear into the sky in the hope of killing the Divine Adversary, who from the unseen heavens laughs him to scorn. If we take the Pharaoh of Scripture from first to last, still the awful impression remains the same. "Say unto Pharaoh," was the language even of one of the latest Prophets, how much more of these earlier times,—"say "unto Pharaoh, Whom art thou like in thy greatness?" Those who had lain prostrate under such a monarchy would feel doubly the contrast of the freedom into which they were called. The Exodus was a deliverance, not only from idolatry of false divinities, but from the idolatry of human strength and tyranny. In the long democracy of Israel, and the hesitation with which that democracy, "where every man did "what was right in his own eyes," was exchanged even for the monarchy which was to produce a David and a Solomon, we see the protest against the awful form of government which had once bowed them down.

The evils of this ambiguous and degraded state fast developed themselves. The old freedom, the old energy, above all, the old religion, of the Patriarchal age faded away. Not

in the Pentateuch, but in the later books, the participation of Israel in the idolatry of Egypt is expressly stated. "Your "fathers served other gods . . in [1] Egypt." "They forsook "not the idols of [2] Egypt." The Sabbath, if it had existed in some shape amongst their fathers, as seems likely, was forgotten; the rite of circumcision, by which the covenant with God had been made, fell into disuse; its loss became a reproach in the eyes even of their Egyptian masters, to whom, as to the rest of the ancient Eastern world, it was a necessary sign of all cleanliness and of all [3] civilisation. Like slaves, too, like all those wandering populations which hang at the gates of nations or classes more wealthy and more stable than themselves, they learned to cling with a kind of sensual affection to the land of their bondage, to the green meadows of the Nile valley, to "the flesh pots, and melons, "and cucumbers, and onions," which it gave them in profusion; to the land "where they sowed their seed and "watered it with their foot, as a garden of herbs." We shall have to bear this in mind during their whole subsequent history, in order to appreciate both the necessity and the effect of the vicissitudes which were dispensed to them. The bare Desert and the bald hills of Palestine formed a wholesome and perpetual contrast to the magnificence and the fertility of Egypt. They formed, as it were, a natural Monasticism, a natural Puritanism,—in which the luxuries, and the superstitions, and the barbarism of their servile state were set aside by sterner and higher influences. But they were always taught, with pathetic earnestness, never to forget, nay, even, in a certain sense, to feel for and with, the condition of slavery which had been their original portion. "Remember that thou wast a 'slave' in the land of Egypt." On this recollection, as on an immovable thought never to

[1] Josh. xxiv. 2, 14.
[2] Ezek. xx. 8.
[3] Ex. iv. 24; Josh. v. 2–9.

be erased from their minds, are made to repose even the great institutions of the Sabbath and the [1] Jubilee.

Leprosy.

3. There were two other traces of their dependent position in Egypt, which may be noticed as having left indelible marks both on their records and those of the nation which cast them out. One is the disease of [2] leprosy, — which for the first time appears after the stay in Egypt,—is it too much to suppose?—generated by the habits incident to their depressed state and crowded population. In the Israelite annals it appears only in individual though most significant instances,—the hand of Moses, the face of Miriam. But the severe provisions of the Levitical law imply its wider spread; and in the Egyptian traditions the remembrance, as was natural, took a stronger and more general colour of aversion and disgust, and represented the whole people as a nation of lepers, cast out on that account.

The use of the Ass.

4. The other relic of repugnance between the two races, though slight in itself, is both more deeply seated in their original diversity of customs, and more lasting in its results. There is one animal which, even more than the camel, is from first to last identified with the history of Israel. With he-asses and she-asses Abraham returned from Egypt; with the ass Abraham went up with Isaac to the [3] sacrifice; on asses Joseph's brethren came thither; on an ass Moses set his wife and his sons on his return from Arabia to [4] Egypt; an old man seated on an ass was the likeness of him which, according to Gentile [5] traditions, his countrymen delighted to honour. On white asses or mules, through the whole period of the early [6] history till their first contact with foreign nations in the reign of Solomon, their princes rode in state; the prophecy, fulfilled in the close of their history, was that "their

[1] Deut. v. 15, vi. 21; Lev. xxv. 42, 55.

[2] Jos. *c. Apion*, i. 26, 34.

[3] Gen. xxii. 3, 5.

[4] Exod. iv. 20.

[5] Diod. Sic. xxxiv. 1.

[6] Judg. v. 10, x. 4, xii. 14; 2 Sam. xvi. 1, 2; 1 Kings i. 33, 38.

"King should come riding on an ass, and a colt the foal of an "ass." It was the long-continued mark of their ancient, pastoral, simple condition. The rival horse came into Palestine slowly and unlawfully, and was always spoken of as the sign of the pride and power of Egypt; in the funeral procession of Jacob the chariots and horses of Egypt are specially contrasted with the asses of the sons of Israel; they who in later times put their trust in Egypt founded that trust in her chariots and horses. But we know not only the Israelite, but the Egyptian feeling also. Whilst on the Theban monuments the war-horse is always at hand, the ass, in their minds, was regarded as the exclusive, the contemned, symbol of the nomadic race who had left them. On asses they were described as flying from [1] Egypt; asses, it was believed, had guided them through the [2] desert; in the Holy of Holies (to such a pitch of exaggeration was the story carried) the mysterious object of Jewish worship was held to be an ass's head; and so deeply and so generally was this persuasion communicated to the heathen world, that when a new Jewish sect, as it was thought, arose under the name of "Christian," the favourite theme of reproach and of caricature was that they worshipped in like manner an ass, the son of an ass, even on the Cross [3] itself. So long and far were the effects visible of this primitive diversity between the civilised kingdom of the Pharaohs and the pastoral tribe of the land of Goshen. So innocent was the occasion of this long-standing calumny,—a calumny not of generations or centuries, but of millenniums' growth before it was dispelled; perhaps the most remarkable of all the many like slanders and fables invented, in the course of ecclesiastical history, by the bitterness of national or theological hatred.

5. Such are some of the points, greater or smaller, of

[1] Plutarch *de Iside*, ch. 31.
[2] Tac. *Hist.* v. 3. See Lecture VI.
[3] The Palatine inscription (Dublin Rev. April, 1857). Josephus, *c. Ap.* ii. 7; Tertullian, *Apol.* ch. 16.

lasting antagonism which their original relations left between Egypt and Israel. But there are also points of contact. It would be against the analogy of the whole history, to suppose that this long period was wasted in its effect on the mind of the Chosen People; that the same Divine Providence which in later times drew new truths out of the Chaldæan captivity for the Jewish Church, out of the Grecian philosophy and the Roman law for the Christian Church, should have made no use of the greatness of Egypt in this first and most important stage of the education of Israel.

Points of contact.

We need not go to heathen records for the assurance that Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Whatever that wisdom was, we cannot doubt it was turned to its own good purpose in the laws through him revealed to the people of God. The very minuteness of the law implies a stage of existence different to that in which the Patriarchs had lived, but like to that in which we know that the Egyptians lived. The forms of some of the most solemn sacrifices —as, for example, the scapegoat—are almost identical. The white linen dresses of the priests, the Urim and Thummim on the high-priest's breast-plate, are, to all appearance, derived from the same source as the analogous emblems amongst the Egyptians. The sacred ark, as portrayed on the monuments, can hardly fail to have some relation to that which was borne by the Levites at the head of the host, and which was finally enshrined in the Temple. The Temple, at least in some of its most remarkable features,—its courts, its successive chambers, and its adytum, or Holy of Holies,— is more like those of Egypt than any others of the ancient world with which we are acquainted. In these and in many other instances we may fairly trace a true affiliation of such outward customs and forms, as in like manner, at a later period, the Christian Church took from the Pagan ritual of the empire in which it had sojourned for its four hundred

years. It is but an expansion of the one fact which has always arrested the attention of commentators, and which in its widest sense is a salutary warning against despising the greatness and the wisdom of the heathen.

> "This world of thine, by him usurp'd too long,
> Now opens all her stores to heal thy servants' [1] wrong."

Rachel carried off her father's teraphim from Mesopotamia; the wives and daughters of Israel carried off from Egypt the sacred gems and vestments, which afterwards served to adorn the priestly services of the Tabernacle. "When ye go, ye "shall not go empty. But every woman shall borrow of her "neighbour . . . . jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and "raiment, and ye shall put them upon your sons and upon "your daughters. . . . And the Lord gave the people favour "in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them "such things as they required, and they spoiled the Egyp-"tians."

Points of contrast.

Yet the contrast was always greater than the likeness. When we survey the vast array of ancient ideas represented to us in the Egyptian temples and sepulchres, the thought forced upon us is rather of the fewness than of the frequency of illustrations which they furnish. Of this absence of influence perhaps the most remarkable instance lies in the fact that whilst the Egyptian sculptures abound with representations of the future state, and of the judgment after death, the Jewish Scriptures, at least in the Pentateuch, abstain almost entirely from any direct or distinct mention of either. A wider connexion, indeed, might be maintained if we could trust the later descriptions of Egyptian theology and philosophy. It was strongly believed in the Greek schools of Alexandria, that behind the multitude of forms, human, divine, bestial, grotesque, which filled the Egyptian shrines,

[1] Ewald, ii. 87, 8, on Exod. iii. 22; xii. 45. Keble's *Christian Year* (3rd S. in Lent).

there was yet in the minds of the sacred and the learned few a deep-seated belief in One Supreme Intelligence, and thus the distinguishing mark of the Mosaic Revelation would have been, not so much that it disclosed and insisted on this fundamental truth, but that what had been hitherto confined to a priestly caste was for the first time made the common property of a whole people. Such may possibly have been the case. But it is not the natural impression left by the monuments. The crowd of gods and goddesses, above all, the overwhelming deification of the Pharaohs, of which I have before spoken, seems almost impossible to reconcile with any strong Monotheistic belief in Egypt, however far withdrawn into the recesses of schools or priesthoods. One ever-recurring symbol, however, of such a belief appears in colour and sculpture on the Egyptian monuments, as in the Hebrew records it appears also both in word and act. Everywhere, but especially under the portal of every Temple, are stretched out the wide-spread wings, — blue, as if with the cloudless blue of the overarching heavens, — covering the sanctuary, as if with the shelter of some invisible protector. This may be the accidental recurrence of a symbol simply and naturally expressive of a beneficent overruling Power, But it is the nearest authentic approach which the Egyptian monuments furnish to such an idea. It is the image to which, in one sublime passage, at least, the Divine presence is directly compared, "as it were a paved work *of a sapphire stone*, "as it were the body of heaven in his [1] clearness." It is an exact likeness of the wings which formed the covering of the ark in the Tabernacle and the Temple, — of the feeling which has been made immortal in the words, "Under the "shadow of Thy wings shall be my [2] refuge."

[1] Ex. xxiv. 10. Compare our own use of the word "Heaven."

[2] Ps. lvii. 1. For the amplification of the detailed relations of Egyptian to Israelite history, see Hengstenberg's *Egypt and the Books of Moses.*

MOSES.

V. THE EXODUS.

VI. THE WILDERNESS.

VII. SINAI AND THE LAW.

VIII. KADESH AND PISGAH.

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES FOR THIS PERIOD.

1. (*a*) The last four books of the Pentateuch (Hebrew and Septuagint).
   (*b*) Ps. lxxvii. 12-20; lxxviii. 12-54; lxxxi. 5-16; xc.; xcv. 8-11; cv. 23-44; cvi. 7-33; cxiv.; cxxxv. 8-9; cxxxvi. 10-16: Isa. lxiii. 11-14: Hos. xii. 13: Micah vi. 4-9: Ecclus. xlv. 1-22: 2 Macc. ii. 10.
2. The Jewish traditions, preserved
   (*a*) In the New Testament (Acts vii. 20-38; 2 Tim. iii. 8, 9; Heb. xi. 23-28; Jude 9): in Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9–iv. 8, 49): and Philo (*De vitâ Moysis*).
   (*b*) In the Talmud, the Targum Pseudojonathan, and the Midrashim; extracted in Otho's *Lexicon rabbinicum*.
3. The Heathen traditions of Eupolemus, Artapanus, Ezekielus, and Demetrius (Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 26–29): Manetho, Chæremon, Lysimachus (Josephus, *c. Apion*, i. 26-34): Apion (*ib.* ii. 2): Strabo (xvi. 2): Diodorus Siculus (xxxiv. 1, xl. from Hecatæus): Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 3, 4): Justin (xxxvi. 2): Clemens Alexandrinus *Stromata*, i. 22-25.
4. The Mussulman traditions in the Koran, ii. v. vii. x. xi. xviii. xx. xxviii. xl.; collected in Lane's *Selections from the Kur-an*, §§ xv. xvi.; Weil's *Biblical Legends*, p. 91; D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orientale* ("Moussa," "Caroun" i. e. Korah, "Feraoun"); and Jalal-addín, ch. xvi.
5. The Christian traditions in Apocryphal books:—(1) Prayers of Moses, (2) Apocalypse of Moses, (3) Ascension of Moses, (4) Prophecy of Balaam, Book of Jannes and Jambres, &c., in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 801–871.

MOSES.

LECTURE V.

THE EXODUS.

THE History, strictly speaking, of the Jewish Church begins with the Exodus. In one sense, indeed, "History herself "was born on that night when Moses led forth his country-"men from the land of [1]Goshen." Traditions, genealogies, institutions, isolated incidents, isolated characters, may be discovered here and there, long before. In Pagan records there is no continuous narrative of events. In the Sacred records, whatever history exists is the history of a man, of a family, of a tribe, but not of a people, a nation, a commonwealth. This marked beginning, visible even in the Jewish annals themselves, is yet more clearly brought out, when considered from an external point of view. To the outer heathen world the earlier period of the Hebrew race, with the single exception of Abraham, was an entire blank. Their origin in the far East, their first settlement in Canaan, the name of their first father, whether Jacob or Israel, these were all but unknown to Greeks as Romans. It is the Exodus that reveals the Israelite to the eyes of Europe. Egypt was the only land which the Gentile inquirers recognised as the birthplace of the Jews. Moses was the character who first appears, not only as the lawgiver, but as the representative

[1] Bunsen's *Egypt*, i. 23.

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of the nation. In many wild, distorted forms the rise of this great name, the apparition of this strange people was conceived. Let us take the brief account — the best that has been handed down to us — from the careful and truth-loving Strabo.

"Moses, an Egyptian priest, who possessed a consider-
" able tract of Lower Egypt, unable longer to bear with what
" existed there, departed thence to Syria, and with him went
" out many who honoured the Divine Being (τὸ Θεῖον). For
" Moses maintained and taught that the Egyptians were
" not right in likening the nature of God to beasts and cattle,
" nor yet the Africans, nor even the Greeks, in fashioning
" their gods in the form of men. He held that this only
" was God, — that which encompasses all of us, earth and
" sea, that which we call Heaven, and the Order of the world,
" and the Nature of things. Of this who that had any sense
" would venture to invent an image like to any thing which
" exists amongst ourselves? Far better to abandon all statu-
" ary and sculpture, all setting apart of sacred precincts and
" shrines, and to pay reverence, without any image whatever.
" The course prescribed was, that those who have the gift of
" good divinations, for themselves or for others, should com-
" pose themselves to sleep within the Temple; and those who
" live temperately and justly may expect to receive some good
" gift from God, — these always, and none [1]besides."

These words, unconsciously introduced in the work of the Cappadocian geographer, occupying but a single section of a single chapter in the seventeen books of his voluminous treatise, awaken in us something of the same feeling as that with which we read the short epistle of Pliny, describing with equal unconsciousness, yet with equal truth, the first

[1] Strabo, xvi. 760. He probably takes his account from Hecatæus (see Ewald, [redacted]), which is given with further and less accurate details in Diodorus (xl.).

appearance of the new Christian society which was to change the face of mankind. With but a few trifling exceptions, Strabo's account is, from his point of view, a faithful summary of the mission of Moses. What a curiosity it would have roused in our minds, had this been all that remained to us concerning him! That curiosity we are enabled to gratify from books which lay within Strabo's reach, though he cared not to read them. Let us unfold from their ancient pages the leading points of the signal deliverance, when "Israel came out of Egypt, and the house of Jacob from "among the strange people."

The life of Moses, in the later period of the Jewish history, was divided into three equal portions of forty years [1] each. This agrees with the natural arrangement of his history into the three parts, of his Egyptian education, his exile in Arabia, and his government of the Israelite nation in the Wilderness and on the confines of Palestine. But whilst the first two will be contained in the present Lecture, the last extends itself over the rest of this portion of the history.

I. The early period of the life of Moses, as related in the Pentateuch, is so closely bound up with the later traditions concerning it, that it may be well to present it in the form in which it appeared to his nation at the time of the Christian era. His birth [2]—so ran the story—had been foretold to Pharaoh by the Egyptian magicians, and to his father Amram by a dream, as respectively the future destroyer and deliverer. The pangs of his mother's labour were alleviated so as to enable her to evade the Egyptian midwives. The beauty of the new-born babe—in the later version of the story amplified into a beauty and size almost [3] divine—induced the mother to make extraordinary efforts for its preservation from the general destruction of the male children

The birth of Moses.

[1] Acts vii. 23, 30.
[2] Jos. *Ant.* ii. 9, §2-4.
[3] Ib. ii. 9, §1, 5. Ἀστεῖος τῷ Θεῷ, Acts vii. 20.

of Israel. For three months the child, under the name of Joachim, was concealed in the house. Then his mother placed him in a small boat or basket of papyrus (perhaps from a current Egyptian[1] belief that that plant was a protection from crocodiles), closed against the water by bitumen. This was placed among the aquatic vegetation by the side of one of the canals of the Nile. The mother departed as if unable to bear the sight. The sister lingered to watch her brother's fate. The basket[2] floated down the stream.

His education.

The[3] princess came down, in primitive simplicity, to bathe in the sacred river. Her attendant slaves followed her. She saw the basket in the flags, or borne down the stream, and despatched divers after it. The divers, or one of the female slaves, brought it. It was opened, and the cry of the child moved the princess to compassion. She determined to rear it as her own. The sister was then at hand to recommend a Hebrew nurse. The child was brought up as the princess's son, and the memory of the incident was long cherished in the name given to the foundling of the water's side — whether, according to its Hebrew or Egyptian form. Its Hebrew form is *Mosheh*, from *masah*, "to draw out" — "because I have *drawn* him out "of the water." But this is probably the Hebrew form given to an Egyptian word signifying "saved from the[4] water." The "Child of the water" was adopted by the childless princess. Its beauty came to be such, that passers-by stood

[1] Plut. *Is. et Os.* 358.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* ii. 9, § 4.

[3] Thermuthis (Jos. *Ibid.* §5), or Merrhis (Artap. in Eusebius), daughter of the king of Heliopolis, wife of the king of Memphis.

[4] In Coptic, *mo* = water, and *ushe* = saved. This is the explanation given by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9, 6; *c. Apion*, i. 31), and confirmed by the Greek form of the word adopted in the LXX., Μωϋσῆς, and thence in the Vulgate, *Moïjses* (French *Moïse*). This form is retained in the Authorised Version of 1611, in 2 Maccabees — "Moises." In the later editions it is altered. Brugsch (*Histoire d'Egypte*, 157, 173) renders the name *Mes* or *Messon* = child, borne by one of the princes of Ethiopia under Rameses II., as also in the names *Amosis* and Thuth-*Mosis*.

fixed to look at it, and labourers left their work to steal a [1]glance. Such was the narrative, as moulded by successive generations, and finally adopted by Josephus and Clement of Alexandria, from the simpler, but still thoroughly Egyptian, incidents of the Biblical story.

From this time for many years Moses must be considered as an Egyptian. In the Pentateuch, whether from absence of authentic information, or stern disdain, or native simplicity, this period is a blank. But the well-known words of Stephen's speech, which describes [2]him as "*learned in all the wisdom* "*of the Egyptians*," and "*mighty in words and deeds*," are in fact a brief summary of the Jewish and Egyptian traditions which fill up the silence of the Hebrew annals. He was educated at [3]Heliopolis, and grew up there as a priest, under his Egyptian name of [4]Osarsiph or [5]Tisithen. "He learned "arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, medicine, and music. "He invented boats and engines for building—instruments "of war and of hydraulics—hieroglyphics—division of lands." He taught Orpheus, and was hence called by the Greeks [6]Musæus, and by the Egyptians Hermes. He was sent on an expedition against the Ethiopians. He got rid of the serpents of the country to be traversed by letting loose baskets full of ibises upon [7]them. The city of Hermopolis was believed to have been founded to commemorate his [8]victory. He advanced to the capital of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of Meroe, from his adopted mother Merrhis, whom he buried there. Tharbis, the daughter of the king of [9]Ethiopia, fell in love with him, and he returned in triumph to Egypt with her as his [10]wife.

The original account reopens with the time when he was

[1] Jos. *Ant.* ii. 9, § 6.
[2] Acts vii. 22.
[3] Compare Strabo, xvii. 1.
[4] "Osarsiph" is derived by Manetho from Osiris. Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 26, 31.
[5] Chæremon, *Ibid.* 32.
[6] Artapanus, in Eusebius.
[7] Jos. *Ant.* ii. 10, § 2.
[8] Artapanus.
[9] Comp. Num. xii. 1.
[10] Jos. *Ant.* ii. 10, § 2.

resolved to reclaim his nationality. Here, again, the Epistle to the Hebrews, following in the same track as Stephen's speech, preserves the tradition in a distincter form than the narrative of the Pentateuch. "Moses, when he was come to "years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; "choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God "than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming "the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures (the "ancient accumulated treasures of Rhampsinitus and the old "kings) of [1]Egypt." In his earliest infancy he was reported to have refused the milk of Egyptian nurses, and, when three years old, to have trampled under his feet the crown which Pharaoh had playfully placed on his [2]head. According to the Egyptian tradition, although a priest of Heliopolis, he always performed his prayers according to the custom of his fathers, outside the walls of the city, in the open air, turning towards the [3]sun-rising. The king was excited to hatred by his own envy, or by the priests of Egypt, who foresaw their [4]destroyer. Various plots of assassination were contrived against him, which failed. The last was after he had already escaped across the Nile from Memphis, warned by his brother Aaron, and when pursued by the assassin he killed him. The same general account of conspiracies against his life appears in [5]Josephus. All that remains of these traditions in the Sacred narrative is the single and natural incident, that seeing an Israelite suffering the bastinado from an Egyptian, and thinking that they were alone, he slew the Egyptian (the later tradition [6]said, "with a word of his mouth"), and buried the corpse in the sand — the sand of the desert, then, as now, running close up to the cultivated tract. The same fire of patriotism which thus roused him as a deliverer from the

His escape.

[1] Heb. xi. 24-26.
[2] Jos. *Ant.* ii. 9, § 5, 7.
[3] Id. *c. Apion*, ii. 2.
[4] Artapanus.
[5] *Ant.* ii. 10, § 1.
[6] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23.

oppressors, turns him into the peacemaker of the oppressed. It is characteristic of the faithfulness of the Sacred records that his flight is occasioned rather by the malignity of his countrymen than by the enmity of the Egyptians. And in Stephen's speech[1] it is this part of the story which is drawn out at greater length than in the original, evidently with the view of showing the identity of the narrow spirit which had thus displayed itself equally against their first and the last Deliverer.

The Call of Moses.

II. Where these later traditions end, the Sacred history begins. Whatever may have been the preparation provided by Egyptian war or wisdom, it is in the unknown, unfrequented wilderness of Arabia, — in the same school of solitude and of exile, which in humbler spheres has so often trained great minds to the reception of new truths, — that the mission of Moses was revealed to him. In that wonderful region of the earth, where the grandeur of mountains is combined, as hardly anywhere else, with the grandeur of the desert, — amidst the granite precipices and the silent valleys of Horeb, — as to his people afterwards, so to Moses now was the great truth to be made manifest, of which, as we have seen, he was recognised even by the heathen world to have been the first national interpreter. "Now Moses kept the flock " of Jethro his father-in-law, the Priest of Midian: and he led " the flock to the back of the wilderness " far from the shores of the Red Sea, where Jethro seems to have dwelt, "and came " to the mountain of God, even to Horeb." We know not the precise place. Tradition, reaching back to the sixth century of the Christian era, fixes it in the same deep seclusion as that to which in all probability he afterwards led the Israelites. The convent of Justinian is built over what was supposed to be the exact spot where the shepherd was bid to draw his sandals from off his feet. The valley in which

[1] Acts vii. 23–39.

the convent stands is called by the Arabian name of [1]Jethro. But whether this, or the other great centre of the peninsula, Mount Serbal, be regarded as the scene of the event, the appropriateness would be almost equal. Each has at different times been regarded as the sanctuary of the desert. Each presents that singular majesty, which, as Josephus tells [2]us, and as the sacred narrative implies, had already invested "The Mountain of God" with an awful reverence in the eyes of the Arabian tribes, as though a Divine Presence rested on its solemn heights. Around each, on the rocky ledges of the hill-side, or in the retired basins, withdrawn within the deep recesses of the adjoining mountains, or beside the springs which water the adjacent valleys, would be found pasture of herbage or of aromatic shrubs for the flocks of Jethro. On each, in that early age, though now found only on Mount Serbal, must have grown the wild acacia, the shaggy thornbush of the *Seneh*, the most characteristic tree of the whole range. So natural, so thoroughly in accordance with the scene, were the signs, in which the call of Moses makes itself heard and seen. Not in any outward form, human or celestial, such as the priests of Heliopolis were wont to figure to themselves as the representatives of Deity, but out of the midst of the spreading thorn, the outgrowth of the desert wastes, did "the Lord appear unto Moses." A flame of fire, like that which seemed to consume and waste away His people in the furnace of [3]affliction, shone forth amidst the dry branches of the thorny tree, and "behold! the bush," the massive thicket, "burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed." And when the question arose, with what he should work the signs by which his countrymen shall believe and hearken to his

The burning bush.

[1] Shoaib = Hobab (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 58, note).

[2] *Ant.* ii. 12, § 1.

[3] See Philo, *Vita Mosis*, i. 91. Compare *Sinai and Palestine*, 17, 20, 45, 46.

voice, the same character recurs. No sword of war, such as was wielded by Egyptian kings, no mystic emblem, such as was borne by Egyptian gods, but — "'What is that in thine "hand?' And he said, 'A [1] rod' " — a staff, a shepherd's crook, the staff which indicated his return to the pastoral habits of his fathers, the staff on which he leaned amidst his desert wanderings, the staff with which he guided his kinsman's flocks, the staff like that still borne by Arab chiefs, — this was to be the humble instrument of divine power. "In this," as afterwards in the yet humbler symbol of the Cross — in this, the symbol of his simplicity, of his exile, of his lowliness — "the world was to be conquered." These were the outward signs of his call. And, whatever the explanation put on their precise import, there is this undoubted instruction conveyed in their description, that they are marked by the peculiar appropriateness and homogeneousness to the peculiar circumstances of the Prophet, which marks all like manifestations, through every variety of form, to the Prophets, the successors of Moses, in each succeeding age. In grace, as in nature, God, if we may use the well-known expression, *abhorret saltum*, abhors a sudden, unprepared transition. "The child is father of the man:" the man is father of the prophet—the days of both are "bound each to each by natural "piety." It is the first signal instance of the prophetic revelations. Its peculiar form is the key of all that follow.

The shepherd's staff.

But, as in all these Revelations, it is the substance and spirit of the message, rather than its outward form, which carries with it the most enduring lesson, and the surest mark of its heavenly origin. "Behold, when I shall come "to the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God "of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say,

The Name of Jehovah.

[1] In the Mussulman traditions it was the white shining hand of Moses that worked the wonders. D'Herbelot ("Moussa").

"'What is His name?' what shall I say unto them? And "God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM. . . . *Thus shalt* "*thou say unto the children of Israel,* 'I AM *hath sent me* "*unto you.*'"

It has been observed, that the great epochs of the history of the Chosen People are marked by the several names, by which in each the Divine Nature is indicated. In the Patriarchal age we have already seen that the oldest Hebrew form by which the most general idea of Divinity is expressed is "El-Elohim," "The Strong One," "The Strong Ones," "The Strong." "Beth-El," "Peni-El," remained even to the latest times memorials of this primitive mode of address and worship. But now a new name, and with it a new truth, was introduced. "I am JEHOVAH; I appeared unto "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by the name of El-Shaddai (God "Almighty); but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known "unto [1]them." The only certain use of it before the time of Moses is in the name[2] of "Jochebed," borne by his own mother. It has been beautifully conjectured [3] that in the small circle of that family a dim conception had thus arisen of the Divine Truth, which was through the son of that family proclaimed for ever to the world. It was the rending asunder of the veil which overhung the temple[4] of the Egyptian Sais. "I am "that which has been, and which is, and which is to be; and "my veil no mortal hath yet drawn aside." It was the declaration of the simplicity, the unity, the self-existence of the Divine [5]Nature, the exact opposite to all the multiplied

[1] Ex. vi. 2, 3.

[2] Ibid. 20. Jochebed is a contraction of Jeho-chebed = "Jehovah my glory." (Gesenius, *sub voce.*)

[3] Ewald, ii. 204, 5.

[4] Plutarch, *De Isid. et Os.* c. 9.

[5] The word LORD, by which we render it, is the translation of κύριος, in the LXX., which again is the translation of *Adonai*, the word used by the excessive reverence of the later Jews in the place of JEHOVAH. The only modern translation which has preserved the true rendering of JEHOVAH is the French "L'Eternel," whence Bunsen has taken, in his *Bibelwerk*, "der Ewige."

forms of idolatry, human, animal, and celestial, that prevailed, as far as we know, everywhere else. "The Eternal." This was the moving spring of the whole life of Moses, of the whole story of the Exodus. In viewing the history, even as a mere national record, we cannot, if we would, dispense with the impulse, the elevation, of which the name of "Jehovah" was at once the cause and the symbol. Slowly and with difficulty it won its way into the heart of the people. We can trace it, through its gradual incorporation, into the proper names beginning with the transformation of Hoshea into Jehoshua. We can trace its deep religious significance in the frequent usage which separates those portions of the Sacred records where the name "Jehovah" occurs from those where the older name of "Elohim" occurs. The awe which it inspired went on, as it would seem, increasing rather than diminishing with the lapse of years. A new turn was given to it under the monarchy, when it becomes encompassed with the attributes of the leader of the armies of earth and heaven, "JEHOVAH Sabaoth," "The LORD of Hosts." And in later times it lies concealed, enshrined, behind the word which the trembling reverence of the last age of the Jewish people substituted for it, and which appears in the Greek and in the English version of the Scriptures,— "Adonai," "Kurios," "the LORD," — a substitution which, whilst it effaced the historical meaning of the name, prepared the way for the still nearer and closer revelation of God in Him whom we now emphatically acknowledge as "Our Lord."

The return of Moses.

But we must return to the original circumstances under which the Revelation was first made. It is characteristic of the Biblical history that this new name, though itself penetrating into the most abstract metaphysical idea of God, yet in its effect was the very opposite of a mere abstraction. Moses is a Prophet,— the first of the Prophets,—but he is also

a Deliverer. Israel, indeed, through him becomes "a chosen people," "a holy congregation"— in one word, a Church. But it also through him becomes a nation: it passes, by his means, from a pastoral, subject, servile tribe, into a civilised, free, independent commonwealth. It is in this aspect that the more human and historical side of his appearance presents itself. It is true that even here we see him very imperfectly. In him, as in the Apostles afterwards, the man is swallowed up in the cause, the messenger in the message and mission with which he is charged. Yet from time to time, and here in this opening of his career more than elsewhere, his outward and domestic relations are brought before us. He returns to Egypt from his exile. In the advice of his father-in-law to make war [1]upon Egypt, in his meeting with his brother in the desert of Sinai, may be indications of a mutual understanding and general rising of the Arabian tribes against the Egyptian [2]monarchy. But in the Sacred narrative our attention is fixed only on the personal relations of the two brothers, now first mentioned together, never henceforth to be parted. From that meeting and cooperation we have the first indications of his individual character and appearance. We are accustomed to invest him with all the external grandeur which would naturally correspond to the greatness of his mission. The statue of Michael Angelo rises before us in its commanding sternness, as the figure before which Pharaoh trembled. Something, indeed, of this is justified by the traditions respecting him. The long shaggy hair and [3]beard, which enfold in their vast tresses that wild form, appear in the heathen representations of him. The beauty of the child is, by the same traditions, continued into his manhood. "He was,"

His personal appearance and character.

[1] Artapanus.

[2] Ewald, ii. 59, 60.

[3] An old man, with a long beard, seated on an ass, was the idea of Moses, as given by Diodorus (xxxiv.); or tall and dignified in appearance, and long streaming hair, of a reddish hue, tinged with grey, as given by Artapanus.

says the historian Justin[1] (with the confusion so common in Gentile representations), "both as wise and as beautiful "as his father Joseph." But the only point described in the Sacred narrative is one of singular and unlooked-for infirmity. "O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither here- "tofore, nor since thou hast spoken to thy servant; but I "am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue; . . . how shall "Pharaoh hear me, which am of uncircumcised lips?"—that is, slow and without words, "stammering and hesitating" (so the Septuagint strongly expresses it), like Demosthenes in his earlier youth,—slow and without words, like the circuitous orations of the English[2] Cromwell,—"his speech contempt- ible," like the Apostle Paul. How often has this been repeated in the history of the world,—how truly has the answer been repeated also: "Who hath made man's mouth? . . . Have "not I the Lord? . . . I will be thy mouth, and teach thee "what thou shalt say."

Relations of Moses and Aaron.

And when the remonstrance went up from the true, disinterested heart of Moses, "O my Lord, send, I pray thee, by "the hand of him whom thou wilt send" ("Make any one "thine Apostle so that it be not me"), the future relation of the two brothers is brought to light. "Is not Aaron the "Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well. And "also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee, and when he "seeth thee he will be glad in his heart. And thou shalt "speak unto him, and put words in his mouth. . . . And "he shall be thy spokesman unto the people, and he shall "be, even he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou "shalt be to him instead of God." In all outward appearance,—as the Chief of the tribe of Levi, as the head of the family of Amram, as the spokesman and interpreter, as the first who "spake to the people and to Pharaoh all the words "which the LORD had spoken to Moses," and did the signs

[1] xxxvi. 2.

[2] See Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ii. 219.

in the sight of the people, as the permanent inheritor of the sacred staff or rod, the emblem of rule and power,—Aaron, not Moses, must have been the representative and leader of Israel. But Moses was the inspiring, informing soul within and behind; and, as time rolled on, as the first outward impression passed away and the deep abiding recollection of the whole story remained, Aaron the prince and priest has almost disappeared from the view of history; and Moses, the dumb, backward, disinterested Prophet, continues for all ages the foremost leader of the Chosen People, the witness that something more is needed for the guidance of man than high hereditary office or the gift of fluent speech,—a rebuke alike to an age that puts its trust in priests and nobles, and an age that puts its trust in preachers and speakers.

His wife and children.

As his relations with Aaron give us a glimpse into his personal history, so his advance towards Egypt gives us a glimpse into his domestic history. His wife, whom he had won by his chivalrous attack on the Bedouin shepherds by "the well" of Midian, and her two infant sons, are with him. She is seated with them on the ass,—the usual mode of travelling, for Israelites at least, in those parts. He walks by their side with his shepherd's staff. On the journey a mysterious and almost inexplicable incident occurs in the family. The most probable explanation seems to be, that at the caravanserai either Moses or his eldest child was struck with what seemed to be a mortal illness. In some way, not apparent to us, this illness was connected by Zipporah with the fact that her son had not been circumcised—whether in the general neglect of that rite amongst the Israelites in Egypt, or in consequence of his birth in Midian. She instantly performed the rite, and threw the sharp instrument, stained with the fresh blood, at the feet of her husband, exclaiming in the agony of a mother's anxiety for the life of her child, "A bloody husband thou art to cause

"the death of my son." Then, when the recovery from the illness took place (whether of her son or her husband), she exclaims again: "A bloody husband still thou art, but not "so as to cause the child's death, but only to bring about "his [1] circumcision."

It would seem as if in consequence of this event, whatever it was, that the wife and her children were sent back to Jethro, and remained with him till Moses joined them at [2] Rephidim. Unless Zipporah is the Cushite [3] wife who gave such umbrage to Miriam and Aaron, we hear of her no more.

The two sons also sink into obscurity. Their names, though of Levitical origin, relate to their foreign birthplace. Gershom, the "stranger," and Eli-ezer, "God is my help," commemorated their father's exile and [4] escape. Their posterity lingered in obscurity down to the time of [5] David.

From the Deliverer we proceed to the Deliverance. We need not repeat what has been already said of the condition of Egypt at this time, and of the peculiar oppression of the Israelites.

The deliverance, in its essential features, is the likeness of all such deliverances. "When the tale of bricks is doubled "then comes Moses." This is the proverb which has sustained the Jewish nation through many a long oppression. The truth contained in it, the imagery of the Exodus, have doubtless been more than the types, they have often been the sustaining causes and consolations, of the many successful

The Deliverance.

[1] So Ewald (*Alterth.* 105), and Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, i. 112), taking the sickness to have visited Moses. Rosenmüller makes Gershom the victim (see Ex. iv. 25), and makes Zipporah address Jehovah, the Arabic word for "marriage" being a synonyme for "circumcision." It is possible that on this story is founded the tradition of Artapanus (Eusebius), that the Ethiopians derived circumcision from Moses.

[2] Ex. xviii. 2–6.

[3] Num. xii. 1. Compare the juxtaposition of "Cushan" and "Midian" in Hab. iii. 7.

[4] Ex. xviii. 3, 4.

[5] 1 Chr. xxiii. 16, 17; xxiv. 24; xxvi. 25–28. See also Judg. xviii. 30.

struggles which from that day to this the oppressed have waged against the oppressor. But that which is peculiar in the story of the Exodus is the mode by which it was effected. First, it was not a mere case of ordinary insurrection of a slave population against their masters. The Egyptian version of the event represents it as a dread, an aversion entertained by the oppressors towards the oppressed as towards an accursed and polluted people. It was a mutual hatred. The king, according[1] to the constant Egyptian tradition, was troubled by dreams, and commanded by oracles, to rid himself of the nation of lepers. And this, from another point of view, is also the prevailing sentiment of the Egyptians, as given in the Sacred writers. "Rise up, and get you forth "from among my people. . . . Egypt was glad at their "departing — for they were afraid of them."

The Plagues

And it is impossible, as we read the description of the Plagues, not to feel how much of force is added to it by a knowledge of the peculiar customs and character of the country in which they occurred. It is not an ordinary river that is turned into blood; it is the [2]sacred, beneficent, solitary Nile, the very life of the state and of the people, in its streams and canals and tanks, and vessels of wood and vessels of stone, then, as now, used for the filtration of the delicious water from the sediment of the river-bed. It is not an ordinary nation that is struck by the mass of putrefying vermin lying in heaps by the houses, the villages, and the fields, or multiplying out of the dust of the desert sands on each side of the Nile valley. It is the cleanliest of all the ancient nations, clothed in white linen, anticipating, in their fastidious delicacy and ceremonial purity, the habits of modern and northern Europe. It is not the ordinary cattle that died in the field, or ordinary fish that died in the river,

[1] Jos. *c. Apion*, i. 26, 32, 34. [2] Philo, *V. M.* i. 17

or ordinary reptiles that were overcome by the rod of Aaron. It is the sacred goat of Mendes, the ram of Ammon, the calf of Heliopolis, the bull Apis, the [1] crocodile of Ombos, the carp of Latopolis. It is not an ordinary land of which the flax and the barley, and every green thing in the trees, and every herb of the field are smitten by the two great calamities of storm and locust. It is the [2] garden of the ancient Eastern world,—the long line of green meadow and corn-field, and groves of palm and sycomore and fig-tree, from the Cataracts to the Delta, doubly refreshing from the desert which it intersects, doubly marvellous from the river whence it springs. If these things were calamities anywhere, they were truly "signs and wonders,"—speaking signs and oracular wonders, —in such a land as "the land of Ham." In whatever way we unite the Hebrew and the Egyptian accounts, there can be no doubt that the Exodus was a crisis in Egyptian as well as in Hebrew history, "a nail struck into the coffin of "the Egyptian [3] monarchy."

But, secondly, the Israelite annals, unlike the records of any other nation, in ancient or modern times, which has thrown off the yoke of slavery, claim no merit, no victory of their own. There is no Marathon, no Regillus, no Tours, no Morgarten. All is from above, nothing from [4] themselves. In whatever proportions the natural and the supernatural are intermingled, this result equally remains. The locusts, the flies, the murrain, the discoloured river, the storm, the darkness of the sandy wind, the plague, are calamities natural [5] to Egypt, though rare, and exhibited here in aggravated and terrible forms. But not the less are they the

[1] The "serpent" of Exod. vii. 9, 10, 12 (a different word from that in iv. 3; vii. 15), is evidently a "crocodile."

[2] Gen. xiii. 10; "a garden of the "Lord, the land of Egypt."

[3] Bunsen, *Bibelurkunden*, i. 107.

[4] See the version of the plagues given by Artapanus (Eusebius).

[5] This is the view taken in Hengstenberg's *Egypt and the Books of Moses.*

interventions of a Power above the power of man,—not the less did they call the mind of the Israelite from dwelling on his own strength and glory, to the mighty Hand and the stretched-out Arm, on which alone, through his subsequent history, he was to lean. It is in the final issue of the Exodus that this most clearly appears, and here we can approach more nearly to the events as they actually presented themselves; especially with the additional light thrown upon it by the allusions in the Psalms, by the parallel story of Josephus, and by the customs through which it was commemorated in after times.

The Exodus.

There are some days of which the traces left on the mind of a nation are so deep that the events themselves seem to live on long after they have been numbered with the past. Such was the night of the month Nisan in the eighteenth century before the Christian era. "It is a night to be much "observed unto the Lord, for bringing them out of the land "of Egypt; this is that night of the Lord to be observed of "the children of Israel in their generations." Dimly we see and hear, in the darkness and the confusion of that night, the stroke which at last broke the heart of the king and made him let Israel go. "At midnight the Lord smote all the "first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pha-"raoh that sate on his throne, to the first-born of the captive "that was in the dungeon; and all the first-born of cattle. "And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, "and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt," —the loud, frantic, funeral wail characteristic of the whole nation,—"for there was not a house where there was not "one dead." In the Egyptian accounts this destruction was described[1] as effected by an incursion of the Arabs. The Jewish Psalmist ascribes it to the sudden visitation of the plague. "He spared not their soul from death, but gave

[1] Jos. *c. Apion*, i. 27.

"their life over unto the [1] pestilence." Egyptian and Israelite each regarded it as a divine judgment on the worship, no less than the power, of Egypt. "The Egyptians buried their first-"born whom the Lord had smitten; upon their gods also did "the Lord execute [2] judgment."

But whilst of the more detailed effect of that night on Egypt we know nothing, for its effects on Israel it might almost be said that we need not go back to any written narrative. It still moves and breathes amongst us.

The Passover.

Amongst the various festivals of the Jewish Church, one only (till the institution of those which commemorated the much later deliverances from Haman and from Antiochus Epiphanes) was distinctly historical. In the feast of the Pesach, Pascha, or Passover, the scene of the flight of the Israelites, its darkness, its hurry, its confusion, was acted year by year, as in a living drama. In part it is still so acted throughout the Jewish race; in all its essential features (some of which have died out everywhere else) it is enacted, in the most lively form, by the solitary remnant of that race which, under the name of Samaritan, celebrates the whole Paschal sacrifice, year by year, on the summit of Mount [3] Gerizim. Each householder assembled his family round him; the feast was within the house; there was no time or place for priest or sacred edifice,—even after the establishment of the sanctuary at Jerusalem this vestige of the primitive or the irregular celebration of that night continued, and not in the Temple courts, but in the upper [4] chamber of the private houses, was the room prepared where the Passover was to be eaten. The animal slain and eaten on the occasion was itself a memorial of the pastoral state of the people. The shepherds of Goshen, with their flocks and herds, whatever else they could furnish for a

[1] Psalm lxxviii. 51.
[2] Num. xxxiii. 4.
[3] From this ceremony, described to me by an eyewitness, most of the following account is taken.
[4] Mark xiv. 15, sqq.

hasty meal, would at least have a lamb or a kid,—"a male "of the first year from the sheep or from the goats." They struck its blood on the door-posts of the house as a sign of their deliverance. At Gerizim the Samaritan community rushes forward, and, as the blood flows from the throat of the slaughtered lamb, they dip their fingers in the stream; and each man, woman, and child, even to the child in arms, is marked on the forehead with the red stain. On the cruciform wooden spit—this we know from [1]Justin Martyr was the practice in ancient times, and the Christian spectator on Gerizim starts as he sees it at this day — on the cruciform spit the lamb is left, after the manner of Eastern feasts, to be roasted whole during the remaining hours of the day.

Night falls; the stars come out; the bright moon is in the sky: the household gathers round; and then takes place the hasty meal, of which every part is marked by the almost frantic haste of the first celebration, when Pharaoh's messengers were expected every instant to break in with the command, "Get you forth from among my people; Go! Begone!" The guests of each household at the moment of the meal rose from their sitting and recumbent posture, and stood round the table on their feet. Their feet, usually bare within the house, were shod as if for a journey. Each member of the household, even the women, had staffs in their hands, as if for an immediate departure; the long Eastern garments of the men were girt up, for the same reason, round their loins. The roasted lamb was torn to pieces, each snatching and grasping in his eager fingers the morsel which he might not else have time to eat. Not a fragment is left for the morning, which will find them gone and far away. The cakes of bread which they broke and ate were tasteless from the want of leaven, which there had been no leisure to prepare; and, as on that fatal midnight they

[1] *Dial. c. Tryphone*; Bochart, *Hieroz.* "de Agno Paschali."

"took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading "troughs being bound up in their clothes on their shoulders," so the recollection of this characteristic incident was stamped into the national memory by the prohibition of every kind of leaven or ferment, for seven whole days during the celebration of the feast — the feast, as it was from this cause named, of unleavened bread. And, finally, in the subsequent union of later and earlier usages, the thanksgiving for their deliverance was always present. The reminiscence of their bondage was kept up by the mess of bitter herbs, which gave a relish to the supper; and that bitter cup again was sweetened by the festive character which ran through the whole transaction, and gave it in later generations what in its first institution it could hardly have had,—its full social and ecclesiastical aspect; the wine-cups of blessing, and the long-sustained hymn from the 113th to the 118th Psalm, of which the thrilling parts must always have been those which sing how "Israel came out of [1]Egypt;" how "not unto them, not unto them, but unto Jehovah's name "was the praise to be given for ever and [2]ever."

So lived on for centuries the tradition of the Deliverance from Egypt; and so it lives on still, chiefly in the Hebrew race, but, in part, in the Christian Church also. Alone of all the Jewish festivals, the Passover has outlasted the Jewish polity, has overleaped the boundary between the Jewish and Christian communities. With the other festivals of the Israelites we have no concern: even the name of the weekly festival of the Sabbath only continues amongst us by a kind of recognised solecism, and its day has been studiously changed. But the name of the Paschal feast in the largest proportion of Christendom is still, unaltered, the name of the greatest Christian holiday. The Paschal Lamb, in deed or in word, is become to us symbolical of the most sacred of all

[1] Ps. cxiv. 1. [2] Ps. cxv. 1.

events. The Easter full moon, which has so long regulated the calendars of the Christian world, is, one may say, the lineal successor of the bright moonlight which shed its rays over the palm-groves of Egypt on the fifteenth night of the month Nisan; Jew and Christian, at that season, both celebrate what is to a certain extent a common festival: even the most sacred ordinance of the Christian religion is, in its outward form, a relic of the Paschal Supper, accompanied by hymn and thanksgiving, in the upper chamber of a Jewish household. The nature of the bread which is administered in one large section of the Christian Church bears witness, by its round unleavened wafers, to its Jewish origin, and to the disorder of the hour when it was first eaten. And as, in the course of history, ecclesiastical as well as civil, events the most remote and the most trivial constantly ramify into strange and unlooked-for consequences,—the attempt of the Latin Church to perpetuate, and of the Eastern Church to cast off, this historical connexion with the peculiar usage of the ancient people from which they both sprang, became one of the chief causes or pretexts of their final rupture from each other.

The Flight.

It is difficult to conceive the migration of a whole nation under such circumstances. This difficulty, amongst others, has induced the well-known French commentator [1] on the Exodus, with every desire of maintaining the letter of the narrative, to reduce the numbers of the text from 600,000 to 600 armed men. The great German scholar defends the correctness of the original [2] numbers. In illustration of the event, a sudden retreat is recorded of a whole nomadic people—400,000 Tartars—under cover of a single night, from the confines of Russia into their native deserts, as late as the close of the last [3] century. We may leave the question

[1] Laborde *on Exodus and Numbers.*
[2] Ewald, ii. 253, sqq.
[3] See Bell's *History of Russia*, ii. App. C.

to the critical analysis of the text and of the probabilities of the case, and confine ourselves to what remains equally true under either hypothesis. Those who have seen the start of the great caravans of pilgrims in the East, may form some notion of the silence and order with which even very large masses break up from their encampments, and, as in this instance, usually in the darkness and the cool of the night, set out on their journey, the torches flaring before them, the train of camels and asses spreading far and wide through the broad level desert.

Rameses,

From Rameses the first start was made. This the Septuagint fixed on the north-west skirts of the Delta, and to the same locality we are directed by the most recent discoveries. All that follows is wrapt in too great an obscurity to justify any detailed description. The spots are indeed named with an exactness which provokes and tantalises in proportion to the certainty with which they must once have been known, and the uncertainty which has rested upon them since. Still the general direction of the flight, and the general features of the resting-places may be gathered. South-eastward they went, —not by the short and direct road to Palestine, but by the same circuitous route, through the wilderness of the Red Sea, which their ancestors had followed in bearing away the body of Jacob, as now they were bearing off, with different thoughts and aims, the coffin which contained the embalmed remains of Joseph. The nomenclature of the several halts indicates something of the country through which they passed. The first was "Succoth,"—the place of "*booths*" or "*leafy huts*," —the last spot where they could have found the luxuriant foliage of tamarisk and sycomore and palm, "branches of "thick trees to make booths, as it is written." How deeply that first resting-place was intended to be sunk into their remembrance may be gathered from the fact, that this, rather than any of the numerous halts in their later wanderings, was

Succoth,

selected to be represented after their entrance into Palestine, as a memorial of their stay in the wilderness. The Feast of Tabernacles, or *Succoth*, was a feast not of tents, — but of huts woven together from "the boughs of goodly trees, "branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and "willows of the brook," that "all their generations might "know that the Lord made the children of Israel to dwell in "booths, when He brought them up out of the land of [1] Egypt." It was the first step that involved the whole; it was the first step, therefore, the last lingering on the confines of Egyptian vegetation and civilisation, the first step into the wandering state of the desert, that was to be henceforward commemorated. The next halt was *Etham*, on "the *edge* of the wilderness." Cities they had left behind them at Rameses; the groves and villages they had left behind at Succoth; the green land of Egypt, cut off as with a knife from the hard desert tract on which they now entered, they left behind at Etham. They were now fairly in the wilderness.

Feast of Tabernacles.

Etham.

And now came the command "to turn," not to go straight forward, as they would have expected, round the head of the gulf, but "to turn" and "encamp between Migdol and the "sea, beside the sea, before Pi-hahiroth, over against Baal-"zephon." Here is exactly a case of that precision which guarantees to us that the spot was once well known, yet which now serves us but [2] little. Could we but discover the site of the *pastures* of Pi-hahiroth (such must be the meaning of that Egyptian word) or the *sanctuary* of Typhon (such must be the meaning of Baal-zephon), the controversy respecting the locality and the nature of the passage of the Red Sea would be at an end. As it is, we are led in two opposite directions,— on the one hand, the extreme northern point (beyond the spot where the present gulf terminates, but to

Passage of the Red Sea.

[1] Lev. xxiii. 40–43. [2] *Sinai and Palestine*, 34–37.

which it must anciently have extended) is indicated by the mention of Migdol, which can hardly be any other than the well-known town or tower called by the Greeks Magdôlon; on the other hand, the narrative of Josephus speaks distinctly of "the mountain" as that which "entangled and shut "them in," which can be no other than the lofty range of the Jebel Attâka, the Mountain of Deliverance, south of the modern Suez. But whichever of these it be, the narrative compels us to look for the passage somewhere near the head of the then gulf, whence the width would be such as to allow the host to pass over in a single night, and the waters to be parted by the means described, namely, by a strong [1]wind. The ancient theory adopted by the Rabbinical and early Christian writers, that the Israelites merely performed a circuit in the sea and returned again to the Egyptian shores, will now be maintained by no one who has any regard to the dignity of the story or the grandeur of the event described. Dismissing, therefore, these geographical considerations, we may fix our minds on the essential features of this great deliverance, as it will be acknowledged without dispute by every reader.

The Israelites were encamped on the western shore of the Red Sea, when suddenly a cry of alarm ran through the vast multitude. Over the ridges [2] of the desert hills were seen the well-known horses, the terrible chariots of the Egyptian host: "Pharaoh pursued after the children of Israel, and "they were sore afraid."

"They were sore afraid;" and in that terror and perplexity the sun went down behind the huge mountain range which rose on their rear, and cut off their return to Egypt; and the dark [3]night fell over the waters of the sea which

[1] Not necessarily "east." See LXX. (Ex. xiv. 21), and Philo, *V. M.* i. 32.

[2] Philo, *V. M.* i. 30.

[3] Being the 18th or 19th of the month, the moon would not rise till some hours after nightfall.

rolled before them and cut off their advance into the desert. So closed in upon them that evening; where were they when the morning broke over the hills of Arabia? where were they, and where were their enemies?

They stood in safety on the further shore; and the chariots, and the horsemen, and the host of Pharaoh had vanished in the waters. Let us calmly consider, so far as our knowledge will allow us, the extent of such a deliverance, effected at a moment so critical.

Passage from Africa to Asia:

First, we must observe what may be called the whole change of the situation. They had passed in that night from Africa to Asia; they had crossed one of the great boundaries which divide the quarters of the world; a thought always thrilling, how much more when we reflect on what a transition it involved to them. Behind the African hills, which rose beyond the Red Sea, lay the strange land of their exile and bondage, —the land of Egypt with its mighty river, its immense buildings, its monster-worship, its grinding tyranny, its overgrown civilisation. This they had left to revisit no more: the Red Sea flowed between them; "the Egyptians whom they saw "yesterday they will now see no more again for ever." And before them stretched the level plains of the Arabian desert, the desert where their fathers and their kindred had wandered in former times, where their great leader had fed the flocks of Jethro, through which they must advance onwards till they reach the Land of Promise. Further, this change of local situation was at once a change of moral condition. From slaves they had become free; from an oppressed tribe they had become an independent nation. It is their deliverance from slavery. It is the earliest recorded instance of a great national emancipation. In later times Religion has been so often and so exclusively associated with ideas of order, of obedience, of submission to authority, that it is well to be occasionally reminded that it has had other aspects

from slavery to freedom.

also. This, the first epoch of our religious history, is, in its original historical significance, the sanctification, the glorification of national independence and freedom. Whatever else was to succeed to it, this was the first stage of the progress of the Chosen People. And when in the Christian Scriptures and in the Christian Church we find the Passage of the Red Sea taken as the likeness of the moral deliverance from sin and death,—when we read in the Apocalypse of the vision of those who stand victorious on the shores of the glassy sea "mingled with fire, having the harps of God and singing the "song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb," —these are so many sacred testimonies to the importance, to the sanctity of freedom, to the wrong and the misery of injustice, oppression, and tyranny. The word "Redemption," which has now a sense far holier and higher, first entered into the circle of religious ideas at the time when God "*redeemed* "His people from the house of bondage."

Its mysterious character.

But it was not only the fact but the mode of their deliverance which made this event so remarkable in itself, in its applications, and in its lasting consequences. We must place it before us, if possible, not as we conceive it from pictures and from our own imaginations, but as in the words of the Sacred narrative, illustrated by the Psalmist, and by the commentary of Josephus and [1]Philo. The Passage, as thus described, was effected not in the calmness and clearness of daylight, but in the depth of midnight, amidst the roar of the hurricane which caused the sea to go back—amidst a darkness lit up only by the broad glare of the lightning as "the LORD looked out" from the thick darkness of the cloud. "The waters saw Thee, O God, the waters saw Thee and were "afraid; the depths also were troubled. The clouds poured "out water; the air thundered; Thine arrows went abroad;

[1] *V. M.* i. 32.

"the voice of Thy thunder was heard round about; the "lightnings shone upon the ground; the earth was moved "and shook [1]withal." We know not, they knew not, by what precise means the deliverance was wrought: we know not by what precise track through the gulf the passage was effected. We know not, and we need not know; the obscurity, the mystery, here as elsewhere, was part of the lesson. "God's way was in the sea, and His paths in the "great waters, and *His footsteps were not known.*" All that we see distinctly is, that through this dark and terrible night, with the enemy pressing close behind, and the driving sea on either side, He "led His people like sheep by the hand of "Moses and Aaron."

Long afterwards was the recollection preserved in all their religious imagery. Living as they did apart from all maritime pursuits, yet their poetry, their devotion, abounds with expressions which can be traced back only to this beginning of their national history. They had been literally "baptized "unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea." And, as in the case of the early Christians, the plunge in the baptismal bath was never forgotten, so even in the dry inland valleys of Palestine, danger and deliverance were always expressed by the visions of sea and storm. "All Thy waves and storms "are gone over me." "The springs of waters were seen, and "the foundations of the round world were discovered at Thy "chiding, O Lord, at the blasting of the breath of Thy dis-"pleasure. . . . . He drew me out of many waters." Their whole national existence was a thanksgiving, a votive tablet, for their deliverance in and from and through the Red Sea.

Its providential character.

But another and a still more abiding impression was that this deliverance — the first and greatest in their history —

[1] That the storm of rain, thunder, and lightning is a genuine part of the history as given by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 16, § 3), and Philo (*V. M.* i. 32), appears from Ps. lxxvii. 12–21.

was effected, not by their own power, but by the power of God. There are moments in the life both of men and of nations, both of the world and of the Church, when vast blessings are gained, vast dangers averted, through our own exertions — by the sword of the conqueror, by the genius of the statesman, by the holiness of the saint. Such, in Jewish history, was the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, the deliverances wrought by Gideon, by Samson, and by David. Such, in Christian history, were the revolutions effected by Clovis, by Charlemagne, by Alfred, by Bernard, and by Luther. But there are moments of still higher interest, of still more solemn feeling, when deliverance is brought about not by any human energy, but by causes beyond our own control. Such, in Christian history, are the raising of the siege of Leyden and the overthrow of the Armada, and such, above all, was the Passage of the Red Sea.

Whatever were the means employed by the Almighty — whatever the path which He made for Himself in the great waters, it was to Him, and not to themselves, that the Israelites were compelled to look as the source of their escape. "*Stand "still*[1] and see the salvation of Jehovah," was their only duty. "Jehovah hath triumphed gloriously," was their only song of victory. It was a victory into which no feeling of pride or self-exaltation could enter. It was a fit opening of a history and of a character, which was to be specially distinguished from that of other races by its constant and direct dependence on the Supreme Judge and Ruler of the world. Greece and Rome could look back with triumph to the glorious days when they had repulsed their invaders, had risen on their tyrants, or driven out their kings. But the birthday of Israel, — the birthday of the religion, of the liberty, of the nation, of Israel, — was the Passage of the Red

[1] See the celebrated sermon of Dr. Pusey on that text, Nov. 5, 1837.

Sea;—the likeness in this, as in so many other respects, of the yet greater events in the beginnings of the Christian Church, of which it has been long considered the anticipation and the [1] emblem. It was the commemoration, not of what man has wrought for God, but of what God has wrought for man. No baser thoughts, no disturbing influences, could mar the overwhelming sense of thankfulness with which, as if after a hard-won battle, the nation found its voice in the first Hebrew melody, in the first burst of national [2] poetry, when Moses and the children of Israel met on the Arabian shore, met "Miriam the Prophetess, the sister of Aaron," the third member, the eldest born, of that noble family, whose name now first appears in the history of the Church, afterwards to become so renowned through its Grecian and European form of *Maria* and *Mary*. She came forth, as was the wont of Hebrew women after some great victory, to meet the triumphant host, with her Egyptian timbrels, and with dances of her countrywomen — Miriam, who had watched her infant brother by the river side, and now greeted him as the deliverer of her people, or rather, if we may with reverence say so, greeted the Divine Deliverer, by the new and awful Name, now first clearly proclaimed to her family and her nation:

"Sing unto JEHOVAH, for He is 'lifted up on high, on high.'
The horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea.
My strength and song is JAH, and He is become my salvation.
He is my GOD, and I will praise Him; my father's God, and I will exalt Him.
JEHOVAH is a man of war, JEHOVAH is His name.
Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath He cast into the sea.
His chosen captains also are drowned in the Red Sea.
The depths covered them, they sank to the bottom as a stone.

[1] Ewald, ii. 94.
[2] Compare Maurice's *History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, 11.

Thy right hand, JEHOVAH, is become glorious in power: Thy right hand, JEHOVAH, hath dashed in pieces the enemy.
And in the greatness of Thy height Thou hast overthrown them that rose up against Thee.
Thou sentest forth Thy wrath, which consumed them as stubble:
And with the blast of Thy nostrils the waters were gathered together:
The floods stood upright as a heap; the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea:
The enemy said I will pursue, I will devastate, I will divide the spoil: my desire shall be satisfied upon them: I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.
Thou didst blow with Thy blast; the sea covered them: they sank like lead in the mighty waters.
Who is like unto Thee, JEHOVAH, amongst the gods? Who is like unto Thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?
JEHOVAH shall reign for ever and ever."

LECTURE VI.

THE WILDERNESS.

The companions of Moses.

FROM the Exodus begins the great period of the life of Moses. On that night, he is described as first taking the decisive lead. Up to that point he and Aaron and [1] Miriam appear almost on an equality. But after that, Moses is usually mentioned alone. Aaron still held the second place, but the character of interpreter to Moses which he had borne in speaking to Pharaoh is withdrawn, and it would seem as if Moses henceforth became altogether, what hitherto he had only been in part, the Prophet of the people. Miriam, too, though always holding the independent position to which her age entitled her, no more appears as lending her voice and song to enforce her brother's prophetic power. Another who occupies a place nearly equal to Aaron, though we know but little of him, is Hur, of the tribe of Judah, husband of Miriam, and grandfather of the artist Bezaleel. The guide in regard to the route through the wilderness was, as we shall see, Jethro: the servant, occupying the same relation as Elisha afterwards to Elijah, or Gehazi to Elisha, was the youthful Hoshea, afterwards Joshua.

Importance of Moses.

But Moses is incontestably the chief personage of the whole history. In the narrative, the phrase is constantly recurring, "The Lord spake unto Moses," "Moses spake "unto the children of Israel." In the traditions of the

[1] I sent before thee Moses and Aaron and Miriam (Micah vi. 4).

desert, whether late or early, his name predominates over that of every one else: "The Wells of Moses" on the shores of the Red Sea, "The Mountain of Moses" (Jebel Mûsa) near the convent of S. Catherine, "The Ravine of Moses" (Shuk Mûsa) at Mount S. Catherine, "The Valley of Moses" (Wady Mûsa) at Petra. "The Books of Moses" are so called (as afterwards the Books of Samuel), in all probability, from his being the chief subject of them. The very word "Mosaic" has been in later times applied, in a sense not used of any other saint of the Old Testament, to the whole religion of which he was the [1]expounder.

It has sometimes been attempted to reduce this great character into a mere passive instrument of the Divine Will, as though he had himself borne no conscious part in the actions in which he figures, or the messages which he delivers. This, however, is as incompatible with the general tenor of the Scriptural account, as it is with the common language in which he has been described by the Church in all ages. The frequent addresses of the Divinity to him no more contravene his personal activity and intelligence, than in the case of Elijah, Isaiah, or S. Paul. In the New Testament the legislation of the Jews is expressly ascribed to him. "*Moses* gave you [2]circumcision." "*Moses*, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered [3]you." "Did not *Moses* give you the [4]law?" *Moses* "accuseth [5]you." S. Paul goes so far as to speak of him as the founder of the Jewish religion: "They were all baptized *unto* [6]*Moses*." He is constantly called "a Prophet." In the ancient language both of Jews

[1] Even as applied to tessellated pavement ("mosaic," *musivum*, *μουσεῖον*, *μουσαϊκὸν*), there is some probability that the expression is derived from the variegated pavement of the later Temple, which had then become the representative of the religion of Moses (see an Essay of Redslob, *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.* xiv. 663).

[2] John vii. 22.

[3] Matt. xviii. 3.

[4] John vii. 19.

[5] John v. 45.

[6] 1 Cor. x. 2.

and Christians, he was known as "the great Lawgiver, "the great Theologian," "the great [1]Statesman." He must be considered, like all the saints and heroes of the Bible, as a man of marvellous gifts, raised up by Divine Providence for the highest purpose to which men could be called; and so, in a lesser degree, his name has been applied in later times: Ulfilas was called after him the Moses of the Goths; Arpad, the Moses of the Hungarians; Benedict, the Moses of the Monastic Orders.

The union of the Leader and the Prophet was such as Eastern religion has always admitted more easily than Western. Mahomet, Abd-el-kader, Schamyl, are all illustrations of its possibility. But, amongst the heroes and saints of the true religion, no such union occurs again after Moses. This double career may be divided into three parts: the approach by Rephidim to Sinai; the stay at Sinai; the march from Sinai to Palestine by Kadesh and by Moab. In the first and third of these he appears chiefly as the Leader; in the second, as the Prophet. Whatever is to be said on minute matters of topography has been said elsewhere; and, with regard to all the details of the Israelite journey, there are many reasons why we should be content to remain in suspense for the present. Long as the desert of Sinai has been known to Christian pilgrims, yet it may almost be said never to have been explored before the beginning of this century. We are still at the threshold of our knowledge concerning it. The older travellers never troubled themselves to compare the general features of the desert with the indications of the Sacred narrative, and therefore they usually missed the cardinal points of dispute. A signal instance of this may be seen in the travels of Pococke, Professor of Hebrew at Oxford in the seventeenth century, who, taking

Uncertainties of the Desert.

[1] All these terms are freely used in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* vii. 8; Philo, *V. M.* i. 80; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 22, 24.

with him all the Oriental learning which that office implies, yet gives an account of the Sinaitic desert, such as entirely conceals from us the very localities which are most important for the whole comparison of the history and geography. He says nothing of the plain at the foot of one of the claimants to the name of Sinai; he says nothing of the commanding mountain which from the earliest times has been the other claimant. He went through the sacred localities with his eyes closed to the impressions which all now see to be most important and most significant. We are still therefore in the condition of discoverers, and if we are thus compelled to abstain from positive conclusions, it is a suspense which we need not be afraid to avow, and which in this instance is the less inconvenient, because the very uniformity of nature by which it is occasioned also enables us to form an image of the general scenes, even where the particular scene is unknown; and many will feel at a distance, what many, I doubt not, have felt on the spot, that, in speaking of such sacred events, uncertainty is the best safeguard for reverence; and suspense as to the exact details of form and locality is the most fitting approach for the consideration of the presence of Him who has "made darkness His secret place, His pavilion round about Him with "dark water, and thick clouds to cover them."

1. In the flight from Egypt, the people of Israel disappear once more from the view of the Gentile world. The notices, scanty as they were, which we have of their earlier history, almost entirely cease on their entrance into the desert. A solitary glimpse of their wanderings, recorded by Tacitus, is all that has penetrated into Pagan records. He [1] relates how, in the absence of water, they threw themselves on the ground in despair, when a herd of wild asses guided them to a rock overshadowed by palm trees, where Moses discovered

[1] Hist. v. 3.

for them a copious spring. A seven days' journey brought them to Palestine; and the sabbath was instituted to commemorate their safe arrival within that period, as their deliverance from thirst in the desert was commemorated by the erection of the image of an ass in their most holy place. On this scene the curtain falls, and, as far as the Western world is concerned, it is no more lifted up, till Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, and found, not as he doubtless expected this strange memorial of the wilderness, but "vacuam sedem, inania [1] arcana."

The importance of the Wilderness to Christian history;

To us, on the other hand, the history which fills this space, and especially the earlier portion of it, has become almost a part of our minds. The onward march of the history, the successive localities through which it takes us, at least till the conquest of Canaan, are an epitome of human life itself. The reaction which followed at the Waters of Strife, upon the exultation of the Passage of the Red Sea, has been fitly described as the likeness of the reaction which, from the days of Moses downwards, has followed on every great national emancipation, on every just and beneficent revolution; when "the evils which it has caused are felt, and the evils which "it has removed are felt no [2] longer." The wilderness, as it intervenes between Egypt and the Land of Promise, with all its dangers and consolations, is, as Coleridge would have said, not allegorical, but tautegorical, of the events which in almost unconscious metaphor we designate by those figures. It is startling, as we traverse it even at this day, to feel that the hard stony track under our feet, the springs to which we look forward at the end of our day's march, the sense of contrast with what has been and with what is to be, are the very materials out of which the imagination of all ages has constructed its idea of the journey of life.

[1] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

[2] Macaulay's *History of England*, ch. xi.

But this period had a special bearing on the history of Israel. It was their beginning as a people: it was their conversion or their reconversion to the true faith; it had all the faults and all the excellences which such a new start of life always presents. With all its faults and shortcomings, it was the spring-time of their national existence. "I re- "member thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine "espousals, when thou wentest after Me in the wilderness, "in a land that was not [1] sown." "When Israel was a child, "then I loved [2] him." The Law, we are told, was "a school- master to bring men to Christ." "Mount Sinai in Arabia" is opposed both in preparation and in contrast, to the heavenly and free Jerusalem which is above. But, even in the earlier stages of the history of the Jewish Church, the Law was a schoolmaster, and Mount Sinai was a school, for the dispensation and for the possession even of the earthly Jerusalem. to Jewish history;

2. It is difficult, under the circumstances, to conceive a fitter scene for a new revelation than was the wilderness of Sinai to the Israelites. They had left the land of Egypt: they had come out of the house of bondage, into a land as dif- ferent, into a life as new, as it was possible to conceive. In- stead of the green valley of the one abundant, beneficent river, where water and vegetation never failed, they were in "the great and terrible wilderness," where a spring in each day's march,— the bitter waters of Marah here, the iso- lated grove of Elim there, — was all that they could expect to cheer them. Instead of the endless life and stir which ran through the teeming population of Egypt, the song and dance and feast; the armies passing through the hundred gates; the flags with their brilliant colours flying from the painted gateways; the king at the head of vast proces- Its pecu- liarities.

[1] Jer. ii. 2. [2] Hos. xi. 1.

sions with drum and cymbal, and the rattle of his thousand chariots; there was the deep silence of the desert broken by no echo of human voice, by no cry of innumerable birds, by no sound of rushing waters — broken only by the trumpet, which at early dawn and fall of day roused the tribes from their slumbers, or called them to their rest. For a time the Red Sea was in sight. Once, after they had struck far into the desert, the hills opened [1] before them (we may be allowed to dwell upon it as the most authentic spot ascertainable in their wanderings), and the familiar sea, their ancient enemy and their ancient friend, burst with its flashing waters upon them, and they encamped once more upon its shining beach; and looked once more upon the distant range of the African hills, the hills of the land of their captivity. It was a moment, such as occurs from time to time in the history of men and of nations to remind them from what dangers and by what means they have escaped. Onwards they went, and the desert itself now changed into vaster and stranger shapes than they had ever known before. Here and there, it may be, amongst the host, was an Israelite who had seen the granite hills of Ethiopia; but, taking them generally, the ascent of these tremendous passes, the sight of those towering peaks, must have been to them as the awful retreats of Delphi to the invaders of Greece, as the Alps to the invaders of Italy. Rumours of these mysterious mountains no doubt had reached them even in their house of bondage. "A three days' journey "into the desert to sacrifice to the Lord" was a proposal not unfamiliar to the ears of Pharaoh: and, as they now mounted into the higher region of that desert, they would perceive traces that the Egyptians had been there before them. Here they might see a lonely hill, surrounded by ancient monuments,— sepulchres, temples, quarries, — unquestionably the

[1] Num. xxxiii. 10. See *Sinai and Palestine*, 38, 70.

work of Egyptian [1] hands. There they would see, in a retired valley, hieroglyphics carved deep in the soft sandstone rock, extending back to the builder of the great pyramid, whose figure can be traced here in the desert cliffs, when it has perished everywhere in his own tomb and country. But no report, no experience of individuals, could have prepared them for the scene, as it must have presented itself to a whole host (taking it at its largest or its smallest numbers) scaling that fortress, that towering outpost of the Holy Land. Staircase after staircase, formed by no human hand in the side of the rocky walls, brought them (by whatever approach they came) into the loftier and still loftier regions of the mountain platform. Well may the Arab tribes suppose that these rocky ladders were called forth by the rod of Moses, to help their upward progress.

3. And now they approach the first great halting-place, known by that special name *Rephidim*, "the places of rest." We know not the spot with certainty. Yet of all localities hitherto imagined, that which was believed to be so in the fifth century at least answers the requirements well;—the beautiful palm grove, now and for many ages past called the valley of Paran or Feiran. Rephidim.

At any rate some such spot is implied both by the name and by the twofold encounter which here for the first time occurs with the native tribes of the desert. We are too much accustomed to think that the Peninsula of Sinai, when the Israelites passed through, was entirely uninhabited. This, however, is not the case even now, still less was it so then. Two main streams of population at present occupy the pastures of the wilderness, and two also appear at the time of the Israelite migration. The first was the great tribe of Amalek, ruled, as it would seem, by a chief who bore the Amalek.

[1] *Sinai and Palestine*, 24, 49. [2] Ibid. 71.

title of king, and the hereditary name of [1] Agag—themselves a wide-spreading clan—"first of the [2] nations;" and, like the feebler Bedouins of modern days, extending their excursions far into Palestine, and leaving their name, even before history commences, on mountains in the centre of the [3] country. This fierce tribe, occupying as it would seem the whole north of the peninsula, were, as might naturally be expected, the first to contest the entrance of the new people.

Battle of Rephidim.

Wherever Rephidim may be, it was evidently a place of sufficient importance to induce the Amalekites to defend it to the uttermost. According to the account of Josephus, they had gathered to this spot all the forces of the desert tribes from Petra to the Mediterranean, and, according to a portion of the Mosaic narrative, they began the attack by harassing the rear of the Israelite host. It is a scene of which the significance is indicated, not so much by the description of the event itself, as by its accompaniments and its consequences. The battle is fought and won by the youthful warrior who here appears for the first time—Joshua, the Ephraimite. But Moses is on "the hill," overlooking the fight; he stands, in the Oriental attitude of prayer, his hands stretched out, as if to draw down and receive blessings from above. Beside him, holding up his arms as they fail from weariness, are his brother and (if we may trust [4] Josephus) his brother-in-law, one whose name occurs but seldom, yet always so as to show a high importance beyond what we are actually told concerning him, Hur, of the tribe of Judah, grandfather of the builder of the tabernacle, husband of the prophetess Miriam. The victory is gained; and on the summit of the hill was erected a

[1] Num. xxiv. 7; 1 Sam. xv.

[2] Num. xxiv. 20.

[3] Judg. v. 14; xii. 15. Compare also the "Tombs of the Amalekites," ancient monuments so called, a few miles north of Jerusalem. Robinson, *Bib. Res.* iii. 287.

[4] Jos. *Ant.* iii. 2, 4.

rude altar, named or inscribed by two words signifying "Jehovah is my banner;" and a fragment of the hymn of victory was transmitted through Joshua to after ages, probably in the book of the Wars of Jehovah, "As the hand is "on the throne of [1] Jehovah, so there shall be war between "Jehovah and Amalek from generation to generation." The situation well accords with the spot consecrated in Christian times as the sanctuary of Paran. In the fifth century, a city, a church, an episcopal palace, had gathered round it; and pilgrims flocked to it in considerable numbers. In the Jewish Church the memory of the first enemy of the Chosen People was long preserved; and the slaughter which Joshua had begun was carried out to extermination, first under Saul and then under David. Its last trace appears in the offensive name of "Agagite," applied to Haman in the book of Esther.

The Kenites.

This was the first hostile encounter. Immediately in connexion with this we read of the friendly encounter with that other tribe, which is here frequently mentioned in the same close contact and contrast with Amalek. On the shores, as it would seem, of the Gulf of Akaba, dwelt the Kenites, a clan of the vast tribe of Midian. We have already seen its Chief or Priest, variously named Jethro or Hobab (which in the form [2] of Shouaib is his usual Arab designation at the present day). Of all the characters that come across us in this stage of their history, he is the purest type of the Arabian chief. In the sight of his numerous flocks feeding round the well in Midian, in his courtesy to the stranger who became at once his slave and his son-in-law, we seem to be carried back to the days of Jacob and Laban. And now the old [3] chief, attracted from far by the tidings of his kinsman's

Jethro.

[1] Exod. xvii. 16; see a similar expression as an adjuration in Gen. xiv. 22, and Deut. xxxii. 40.

[2] Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 59, note.

[3] In the Mussulman traditions he is here represented as the mysterious El Khudr. (See *D'Herbelot*, "Moussa.").

fame finds him out in the heart of the mountains of Sinai, "encamped by the Mount of God." "I, Jethro, thy father-"in-law, am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two sons "with her. And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law, "and did obeisance, and kissed him," — gave the full Arab salutation on each side of the head, — "and they asked "each other of their welfare," — the burst of question and answer, which renders these meetings so vociferous at first, rapidly subsiding into total silence, as then, hand in hand, "they come into the tent," and confer privately of what each really wishes to know. He listens, and with his own priestly sanctity acknowledges the greatness of his kinsman's God; he officiates (if one may so say) like a second Melchizedek, the High Priest of the Desert; "he took a burnt offering "and sacrifices for God; and Aaron came," even Aaron the future priest of Israel, "and all the elders of Israel, to eat "bread," to join in the solemn feast of thanksgiving, "with "Moses' father-in-law, before God." He is the first friend, the first counsellor, the first guide, that they have met, since they cut themselves off from the wisdom of Egypt, and they hang upon his lips like children. He sees Moses wearing himself away by undertaking labour that is too heavy for him; and he suggests to him the same subordination of rulers and judges, of elders or sheykhs, that still forms the constitution of the Arabs of the peninsula: and "Moses "hearkened to the voice of his father-in-law, and did all that "he had said." And out of this simple arrangement sprang the gradations that we trace long afterwards in the constitution of the Hebrew commonwealth. "And when he was "to depart to his own land and to his own kindred, Moses "prayed him not to leave them;" in the trackless desert, he, with his Bedouin instincts and his knowledge of the wilderness, would "know how they were to encamp, and would "be to them instead of eyes." The alliance so formed was

never broken. In subsequent ages, when Israel had long since become a settled and civilised people, in their own land, a stranger's eye would have at once discerned little groupes of settlers here and there retaining their Arabian customs, yet one with the masters of the soil. In the caverns of Engedi, on the southern frontier of Judah, the "children of the Kenite" were to be seen dwelling among the people. The valley opening down from the east to the Jordan, opposite Jericho, still bears the name of Hobab. Far in the north, by Kedesh-Naphtali, a grove of oaks was called from the nomad encampment hard by, "the oak of the loading of tents." It is the tent of Heber the Kenite, whose wife Jael will make use of the show of Arabian hospitality to slay the enemy of Israel. In the streets of Jerusalem, during the final siege, a band of wild Arabs will be seen, dwelling in tents, drinking no wine. They are "the children of Jehonadab the son of Rechab," "the *Kenites* that came of Hemath "the father of the house of [1] Rechab."

The difficulties of the Desert

4. Besides the dangers from the desert tribes, this earlier stage of the wanderings also brings out those natural difficulties of the desert-journey, which, through the guidance of Moses, were to be overcome. It is not here intended to enter upon the vexed question of the support of Israel in the wilderness. There are two classes of readers to whom it presents no perplexity — those who are disposed to treat the whole as poetry rather than as history, and those who have no scruple in inventing miraculous interferences which have no foundation in the sacred [2] narrative. It concerns those only who feel the truth and soberness of the narrative too strongly to venture on either of these expedients. They, be they few or many, may be content to withhold a hasty judgment on points which the Scripture has left undeter-

[1] Judg. i. 16, iv. 11; Jer. xxxv. 2; 1 Chron. ii. 55.

[2] *Sinai and Palestine*, 24–27.

mined, and to which the localities and the phenomena of the desert give no certain clue. We cannot repudiate altogether the existence of natural causes, unless we go so far as to maintain that mountains and palm-trees, quails and waters, wind and earthquake, were mere creations of the moment to supply momentary wants; we cannot repudiate altogether the intervention of a Providence, strange, unexpected, and impressive, in the highest degree, unless we are prepared to reject the whole story of the stay in the wilderness.

In the case of each of the main supports of the Israelites, there have been memorials preserved down to our own time, of the hold acquired on the recollections of the Jewish and of the Christian Church.

1. The water.

The flowing of the water from the rock has been localised in various forms by Arab traditions. The isolated rock in the valley of the Leja, near Mount S. Catherine, with the twelve mouths, or fissures, for the twelve tribes, was pointed out as the monument of the wonder at least as early as the seventh century. The living streams of Feiran, of Shuk Mûsa, of Wady Mûsa, have each been connected with the event by the names bestowed upon them. The Jewish tradition, to which the Apostle alludes, amplified the single statement in the Pentateuch to the prodigious extent of supposing a rock or ball of water constantly accompanying them.[1] The Christian image, based upon this, passed on into the Catacombs, where Peter, under the figure of Moses, strikes the rock, from which he takes his name; and it has found its final and most elevated application in one of the greatest of English hymns,—

> "Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
> Let me hide myself in Thee."

2. The manna.

The manna, in like manner, according to the Jewish tradition of Josephus, and the belief of the Arab tribes, and of

[1] See the article "Beer," in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

the Greek Church of the present day, is still found in the droppings from the tamarisk bushes which abound in this part of the [1] desert. The more critical spirit of modern times has been led to dwell on the distinction between the existing manna, and that described in the Book of [2] Numbers; and the identification is further rendered precarious by the insufficiency of the present [3] supply in the Desert of Sinai. It became afterwards a favourite figure in Christian writings, to express the heavenly sustenance of the soul, either in the Eucharist or in our spiritual life generally. Of all the typical scenes represented in the celebrated Ammergau Mystery, none is more natural or touching, than that in which the whole multitude of the Israelites, in every variety of age, sex, and character, appear looking up with one ardent expectation to the downward flight of the celestial food, fluttering over the hundreds of upturned heads, according to that fanciful and child-like but beautiful conception of the descent of the manna. The historical origin of this sacred figure was always carried back beyond Palestine to the desert; a portion of it was laid up as a [4] relic by the Ark for this very purpose, "that "they might see the bread wherewith their fathers were fed "in the [5] wilderness." And a Christian poet has well caught, in "The Song of the Manna-Gatherers," the freshness, the monotony, and the transitional character of the whole passage through the desert, and at the same time has blended together the natural and the supernatural in that union which is at once most Biblical and most philosophical: —

"Comrades, haste! the tent's tall shading
Lies along the level sand,

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[1] *Sinai and Palestine*, 26, note.

[2] Num. xi. 7, 8.

[3] In Persia, however, and in South Africa, the sustenance afforded by this kind of manna is said to be very considerable.

[4] Ex. xvi. 32–34; Hebr. ix. 4.

[5] John, vi. 31, 49; 1 Cor. x. 3.

Far and faint: the stars are fading
O'er the gleaming western strand,
Airs of morning
Freshen the bleak burning land.

"Haste, or e'er the third hour glowing
With its eager thirst prevail,
O'er the moist pearls, now bestrowing
Thymy slope and rushy vale.

. . . . . .

"Comrades — what our sires have told us,
Watch and wait, for it will come.

. . . . . .

"Not by manna show'rs at morning
Shall our board be then supplied,
But a strange pale gold, adorning
Many a tufted mountain's side,
Yearly feed us,
Year by year our murmurings chide.

"There, no prophet's touch awaiting,
From each cool deep cavern start
Rills, that since their first creating
Ne'er have ceased to sing their part;
Oft we hear them
In our dreams, with thirsty heart."[1]

[1] Keble's *Lyra Innocentium.*

LECTURE VII.

SINAI AND THE LAW.

REPHIDIM was but the threshold of Sinai. "In the third "month they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the "wilderness of Sinai." Onwards and upwards, after their long halt, exulting in their first victory, they advanced deeper and deeper into the mountain ranges, they knew not whither. They knew only that it was for some great end, for some mighty sacrifice, for some solemn disclosure, such as they had never before witnessed. Onwards they went, and the mountains closed around them; upwards through winding valley, and under high cliff, and over rugged pass, and through gigantic forms, on which the marks of creation even now seem fresh and powerful; and at last, [1]through all the different valleys, the whole body of the people were assembled. On their right hand and on their left rose long successions of lofty rocks, forming a vast avenue, like the approaches which they had seen leading to the Egyptian temples between colossal figures of men and of gods. At the end of this broad avenue, rising immediately out of the level plain on which they were encamped, towered the massive cliffs of Sinai, like the huge altar of some natural temple; encircled by peaks of every shape and height,

March from Rephidim.

[1] With regard to the locality I have seen no cause to alter the opinion maintained in *Sinai and Palestine*, 43–44; but I have purposely left the expressions sufficiently wide to include any spot which may be selected in the neighbourhood of Jebel Mousa.

the natural pyramids of the desert. In this sanctuary, secluded from all earthly things, raised high above even the wilderness itself, arrived, as it must have seemed to them, at the very end of the world — they waited for the Revelation of God. How would He make Himself known to them? Would it be, as they had seen in those ancient temples of Egypt, under the similitude of any figure, "the "likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that "is upon the earth, or the likeness of any fowl that flieth "in the air, or the likeness of anything that creepeth on "the ground, or the likeness of any fish that is in the waters "under the earth"? Would it be any, or all of these forms, under which they would at last see Him, who, with a mighty hand, had brought them up out of the land of Egypt?

These questions, or like to these, are what must have occurred to the Israelites on the morning of the mighty day when they stood beneath the Mount.

SINAI. The outward scene might indeed prepare them for what was to come. They stood, as I have described, in a vast sanctuary, not made with hands — a sanctuary where every outward shape of life, animal or vegetable, such as in Egypt had attracted their wonder and admiration, was withdrawn. Bare and unclothed, the mountains rose around them; their very shapes and colours were such as to carry their thoughts back to the days of old creation, "from everlasting to ever-"lasting, before the mountains were brought forth, or ever "the earth and the world were [1]made." At last the morning broke, and every eye was fixed on the summit of the height. Was it any earthly form, was it any distinct shape, that unveiled itself? . . . . There were thunders, there were lightnings, there was the voice of a trumpet[2] exceeding

[1] See Ps. xc. 2, ascribed to Moses. For this aspect of the mountains, see *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 12, 13.

[2] It is well known that no volcanic phenomena exist in the desert to account for these appearances. In fact,

loud; but on the Mount itself there was a thick cloud—darkness, and clouds, and thick darkness. It was "the[1] secret "place of thunder." On the summit of the mountain, on the skirts of the dark cloud, or within it, was Moses himself withdrawn from view. It is this which represents to us the seclusion so essential to the Eastern idea—within certain limits, so essential to any idea—of the Prophet; that,

Prophetic mission of Moses.

> "Separate from the world, his breast
> Might deeply take and strongly keep
> The print of Heaven."

I. This was the first and chief impression, which the Israelites and their leader alike were intended to receive at Mount Sinai. They saw not God; and yet they were to believe that He was there. They were to make no sign or likeness of God, and yet they were to believe that He was then and always their one and only Lord.

Negative Revelation of Sinai.

How hard it was for them to receive and act on this, may

all the expressions used in the Sacred writers are those which are usually employed in the Hebrew Scriptures to describe a thunderstorm. For the effects of a thunderstorm at Mount Sinai, compare Dr. Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, 139, 140: "Every bolt as "it burst, with the roar of a cannon, "seemed to awaken a series of dis-"tinct echoes on every side; . . . . "they swept like a whirlwind among "the higher mountains, becoming "faint as some mighty peak inter-"vened, and bursting with undi-"minished volume through some "yawning cleft, till the very ground "trembled with the concussion. . . . "It seemed as if the mountains of "the whole peninsula were answer-"ing one another in a chorus of the "deepest bass. Ever and anon a "flash of lightning dispelled the "pitchy darkness and lit up the "Mount as if it had been day; then, "after the interval of a few seconds, "came the peal of thunder, bursting "like a shell, to scatter its echoes to "the four quarters of the heavens, "and overpowering for a moment the "loud howlings of the wind." Mr. Drew witnessed a thunderstorm at Serbal, and exclaimed, unconsciously, "How exactly like the sound of a trumpet!" Compare the descriptions of the event in Jos. *Ant.* iii. 5, 2; Judg. v. 4; Ps. lxviii. 7, 8, 9; in each of which, to the other images of a storm, are added the torrents of rain—"The heavens dropped;" "The "clouds dropped water;" "A plenti-"ful rain;" "Violent rain." A like description occurs in Hab. iii. 3–11. Compare Ps. xviii. 7–16; xxix. 3–9

[1] Ps. lxxxi. 7.

be imagined from what has been said of their previous state — may be seen from their subsequent history. Even on that very plain, beneath that very Mount, they could not bear to think that they were to serve a God who was invisible: they returned to Egypt in their hearts. Then ensued a scene which Josephus, after the manner of much Ecclesiastical History of later times, shrinks from describing, but which the Sacred historian does not fear to relate at length. Aaron, the great High Priest, in the absence of his greater brother, was shaken. He framed a visible form, the likeness of the sacred beast of Heliopolis, and proclaimed it as "the [1] God, which had brought them up from the land of "Egypt." An altar rose before it, like that which still exists beneath the nostrils of the Sphinx; a three days' festival was proclaimed, with all the licentious rites of song and dance which they had learned in Egypt. And not then only, but again and again, both in the history of the Jewish and of the Christian Church, has the same temptation returned. The Priest has set up what the Prophet has destroyed. Graven images have been set up in deed or in word, to make the Unseen visible, and the Eternal temporal. But the Revelation of Sinai has prevailed. Slowly and with many reverses did the great truth then first imparted gain possession of the hearts of Israel, and, through them, of the whole world—that we are neither to imagine that we see God when we do not, nor that because we do not see Him, are we to doubt that He has been, and is, and yet shall be. This was the marvel which the Jewish worship presented, even to the best and wisest heathens who were perplexed by what seemed to them a Religion without a God. It is to us the declaration that there must be a void created by the destruction of errors, by the removal of false images

The worship of the Calf.

[1] That "Elohim" is singular appears both from the context in Ex. xxxii. 4, and also from the parallel in Neh. ix. 8.

of God, before we can receive the true image of the Truth [1] itself.

Positive Revelation of Sinai.

II. But it was not only a negative form that the Revelation of Sinai assumed. This blank, this void, this darkness without a similitude, this vague infinity, as a heathen would have called it, supplied the enthusiasm, the ardour, the practical basis of life, which most nations in the old world, and many in the modern world, have believed to be compatible only with the most elaborate imagery and the most definite statements.

The idea of God in the Jewish Church, which can be traced to nothing short of Mount Sinai, was the very reverse of a negation or an abstraction. It was the absorbing thought of the national mind. [2] It was not merely the Lord of the Universe, but "the Lord who had brought them out of the "land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." It was in the reception and promulgation of this Revelation that the prophetic character of Moses is chiefly brought out. He had been called to his prophetic mission, as we have seen, in the vision of the Burning Bush. But the mission itself, properly speaking, dates from this time, and is indicated in a form nearly corresponding to that of his original call. "I beseech "Thee, show me Thy glory," was the petition which burst from the Prophet in the hour of bitter disappointment and isolation, when he found that his brother and his people had fallen away from him. The wish was thoroughly Egyptian. The same is recorded of [3] Amenoph, the Pharaoh preceding the Exodus. But the difference in the answer to the two prayers well expresses the difference between the Egyptian and the Mosaic religion. "Thou "canst not see My face, for there shall no man see Me and "live." He was commanded to hew two blocks like those

[1] I cannot forbear to refer, for the amplification of this idea, to Mr. Clough's remarkable verses (*Poems*, p. 27.)

[2] Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 93–122.

[3] Manetho in Josephus, *C. Ap.* i. 26.

which he had destroyed. He was to come absolutely alone. Even the flocks and herds which fed in the neighbouring valleys were to be removed out of sight of the mountain. He took his place on a well-known or prominent rock — "the"[1] rock. The legendary locality is still shown, and the importance of the incident, told equally in the Bible and the[2] Koran, is attested by the fact, that from this, rather than from any more general connexion, the mountain derives its name of the "Mount of Moses." It was a moment of his life second only to that when he received the first revelation of the Name of Jehovah. "The Lord passed by and "proclaimed, The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, "longsuffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping "mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression "and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty." The union of the qualities, so often disjoined in man, so little thought of in the gods of old, "justice and mercy," "truth "and love," became henceforward the formula, many times repeated — the substance of the Creed of the Jewish Church. And this union, which was disclosed as the highest revelation to Moses, was exactly what received its fullest exemplification in the Revelation for which it was a preparation: when in the most literal sense of the words, "grace *and* truth" — the tenderness of grace, the sternness and justice of truth — "came by Jesus Christ."

Prophetic mission of Moses.

How marked an epoch is thus intended appears from the mode of the Divine manifestations, which are described as commencing at this juncture, and perpetuated with more or less continuity through the rest of his career. Immediately after the catastrophe of the worship of the calf, and, apparently in consequence of it, Moses removed the chief

[1] Exod. xxxiii. 18, 20, 21; xxxiv. 1, 3.

[2] vii. 139. See *Sinai and Palestine*, 30.

tent—his own tent, according to the [1] Septuagint—outside the camp, and invested it with a sacred character under the name of "the Tent or Tabernacle of the Congregation." This tent became henceforth the chief scene of his communications with God. He left the camp, and it is described how, as in the expectation of some great event, all the people rose up and stood every man at his tent door, and looked—gazing after Moses until he disappeared within the Tabernacle. As he disappeared the entrance was closed behind him by the cloudy pillar, at the sight of which the people prostrated [2] themselves. The communications within the Tabernacle were still more intimate than those on the mountain. "Jehovah spake unto Moses face to face, as a "man speaketh unto his [3] friend." He was apparently accompanied on these mysterious visits by his attendant Hoshea (or Joshua), who remained in the Tabernacle after his master had left [4] it.

It was during these Prophetic visions that a peculiarity is mentioned which apparently had not been seen before. It was on his final descent from Mount Sinai, after his second long seclusion, that a splendour shone on his face, as if from the glory of the Divine [5] Presence; which gradually faded away, till, concealing its extinction by a veil, he returned

[1] Exod. xxxiii. 7. Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 329.

[2] Exod. xxxiii. 10.

[3] Ibid. xxxiii. 11.

[4] Ibid.

[5] It is from the Vulgate translation of *keren*—"*cornutam* habens faciem," that the Western Church has adopted the conventional representation of the *horns* of Moses. In the English and most Protestant translations, Moses is said to wear a veil in order to hide the splendour. In order to produce this sense, the Authorised Version reads, Exod. xxxiv. 33, "And [*till*] Moses had done speaking with them;" and other versions, "he *had* put on the veil." But in the Vulgate and Septuagint, he is said to put on the veil, not during, but after, the conversation with the people,—in order to hide, not the splendour, but the vanishing away of the splendour, and to have worn it till the moment of his return to the Divine Presence, in order to rekindle the light there. With this reading agrees the obvious meaning of the Hebrew words, and it is this rendering of the sense, which is followed by St. Paul in 2 Cor. iii. 13, 14.

to the Divine Presence, once more to rekindle it there. It is from this incident, that, by no very remote analogy, the Apostle draws the contrast between the fearlessness, the openness, of the New Dispensation, and the concealment and doubtfulness of the Old. "We have no fear, as Moses had, "that our glory will pass away."

It is only by thus looking forwards to the end, that we see the full importance of the Prophetic Mission of Moses. But it is only by looking back to the beginning, that we understand its peculiar significance.

That the consciousness of a present Ruler, in the closest moral relation with man, as above described, was a part of the *Mosaic* Revelation, properly so called, — that it had its origin in the solitudes of Sinai, and not in any later growth of the people of Israel,— seem proved by the place which it holds as the basis of their most striking peculiarities. Two may be selected as illustrations of this position.

Absence of a revelation of a future life.

First, the Jewish religion is characterised in an eminent degree by the dimness of its conception of a future life. From time to time there are glimpses of the hope of immortality. But for the most part, it is in the present life that the faith of the Israelite finds its full accomplishment. "The "grave cannot praise thee; death cannot celebrate thee, . . . "the living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this[1] day."

It is needless to repeat here the elaborate contrast drawn out by Bishop Warburton in this respect between the Jewish Scriptures and the religions of Paganism. Nor need we adopt the paradoxical expedient by which, from this apparent defect, he infers the Divine Legation of Moses. But the fact becomes of real religious importance, if we trace the ground on which this silence respecting the Future state was based. Not from want of religion, but (if one might use the expression) from excess of religion, was this void left in the

[1] Isaiah xxxviii. 18, 19; Ps. lxxxviii. 12.

Jewish mind. The Future Life was not denied or contradicted, — but it was overlooked, set aside, overshadowed, by the consciousness of the living, actual presence of God Himself. That truth, at least in the limited conceptions of the youthful nation, was too vast to admit of any rival truth, however precious. When David or Hezekiah, as in the passages just quoted, shrank from the gloomy vacancy of the grave, it was because they feared lest, when death closed their eyes on the present world, they should lose their [1]hold on that Divine Friend, with whose being and communion the present world had in their minds been so closely interwoven. Such a sense of the overwhelming greatness and nearness of God, the root of feelings so peculiar as those which I have described, must have lain too deep in the national belief to have had its beginning in any later time than the epoch of Moses. It is the primary stratification of the Religion. We should invert the whole order of the nation, if we placed it amongst the secondary formations of subsequent ages.

Secondly, it is to this period that we must refer in its full extent, in its most literal meaning, what is often called the Theocracy of the Jewish people. The word is derived from Josephus's account of this time. He, as it would seem, invented the phrase to express an idea for which ordinary Greek could furnish no adequate term. "Our lawgiver," he [2]says, "had no regard to monarchies, oligarchies, democracies, or any of those forms; but he ordained our government to be what by a forced expression may be called '*a Theocracy*.'" It is a term which has been often employed since; usually in the sense of a sacerdotal rule, which is almost exactly the reverse of that in which it was used by its first inventor. The "Theocracy" of Moses was not a government by priests, as opposed to kings; it was a

The Theocracy.

[1] Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 121.

[2] *C. Apion*, ii. 17.

Religious equality of the nation.

government by God Himself, as opposed to the government by priests or kings. It was indeed, in its highest sense, as appeared afterwards in the time of David, compatible both with regal and sacerdotal rule: but, in the first instance, it excluded all rule, except the simplest forms which the freedom of desert life could furnish. The assembly of all the tribes in the armed congregation, the chieftains or elders of the various tribes as established by Jethro, were the constituent elements of the primitive Hebrew commonwealth, in its ordinary social relations. But in its highest aspect, it was distinguished from the other nations of antiquity by its comparative absence of caste, by its equality of religious relations. An hereditary priesthood, it is true, was established, after the manner of Egypt, in the tribe of Levi, in the family of Aaron. But it was a [1] subsequent appendage to the fundamental precepts, to the first declaration of the religion: in its hereditary functions, in its sacred dress, in its minute regulations, rather a part of the mechanism of the religion, than its animating spirit. The Levitical caste

Subordination of the priesthood.

[1] Some eminent divines have supposed that the Levitical ritual was an after-growth of the Mosaic system, necessitated or suggested by the incapacity of the Israelites to retain the higher and simpler doctrine of the Divine Unity,—as proved by their return to the worship of the Heliopolitan calf under the sanction of the brother of Moses himself. There is no direct statement of this connexion in the sacred narrative: but there are indirect indications of it, sufficient to give some colour to such an explanation. The event itself, as we have seen, is described as a crisis in the life of Moses, almost equal to that in which he received his first call. In an agony of vexation and disappointment he destroyed the monument of his first revelation (Ex. xxxiv. 19). He threw up his sacred mission (*ib.* 32). He craved and he received a new and special revelation of the attributes of God to console him (*ib.* xxxiii. 18). A fresh start was made in his career (*ib.* xxxiv. 29). His relation with his countrymen henceforth became more awful and mysterious (*ib.* 32–35). In point of fact, the greater part of the details of the Levitical system were subsequent to this catastrophe. The institution of the Levitical tribe grew directly out of it (*ib.* xxxii. 28). And the inferiority of this part of the system to the rest is expressly stated in the Prophets, and expressly connected with the idolatrous tendencies of the nation—"Wherefore I gave them sta-"tutes that were not good, and judg-"ments whereby they should not "live" (Ezek. xx. 25).

never corresponded to what we should call "the clergy." The fact that the Levites were collected in single cities is of itself a fatal objection to so regarding [1] them. They never claimed or were intended to govern the nation. They hardly claimed even to teach. Levi was not the ruling tribe, even though the two great leaders belonged to it: its consecration dated from no essential ordinance of the Law, but from the sudden emergency which arose out of the apostasy at the time of the molten calf. Aaron, though the head of that tribe, and the founder of the sacerdotal family, was not the ruling spirit of the people. He was but the weaker erring helpmate of Moses, who was the Guide, the Prophet, but not the Priest.

We shall see how, like the equality of the primitive Christian Church, this first development of Israelite independence gradually passed into other forms,—to what disorders it gave rise when every man did what was right in his own eyes, and there was no king in Israel; how, as in the case of the Christian Church of later times, all the complicated relations of state and of hierarchy afterwards sprang up within the framework of a society at its beginning so simple. But the twin truths, which seem incorporated with the very localities of Sinai—the Unseen Ruler in the thick clouds on the top of the awful Mountain, and the sacredness of the whole congregation as it lay spread over the level Plain beneath—were never lost to the Jewish Church, and have been the constant springs of religious freedom and responsibility to the Christian Church. Even at the very outset of the Revelation was announced the great principle—the Gospel, as it has been well [2] called, of the Mosaic dispensation—so new to the nation of slaves, who had hitherto seen truth only through the long vista of mystical emblems and sacred incorporations. "Thus "shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children

[1] Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 52. [2] Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 126.

"of Israel; Ye have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and "how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto "Myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, "and keep My covenant, then shall ye be a peculiar treasure "unto Me above all people; for all the earth is Mine. And "ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy "[1] nation." "Ye shall be holy, for I am [2] holy."

Universality of prophetic inspiration.

Inspiration, communion with God, in the case of the Pagan religions, was for the most part confined to sacred families or local oracles; in the case of the Mussulman religion, was confined to its first founder and his sacred volume. But in the case of Israel it extended to the whole nation. The history of Israel, from Moses downwards, is not the history of an inspired book or an inspired order, but of an inspired people. When Joshua, in his youthful zeal, entreated Moses to forbid the prophesying of Eldad and Medad, because they remained in the camp, Moses answered: "Enviest thou for "my sake? Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, "and that the Lord would put His Spirit upon [3] them!" In different forms and in different degrees that noble wish was fulfilled. The acts of the hero, the songs of the poet, the skill of the artificer — Samson's strength, the music of David, the architecture of Bezaleel and Solomon, are all ascribed to the inspiration of the Divine Spirit. It was not a holy tribe, but holy men of every tribe that spake as they were moved, carried to and fro, out of themselves, by the Spirit of God. The Prophets, of whom this might be said in the strictest sense, were confined to no family or caste, station or sex. They rose, indeed, above their countrymen, their words were to their countrymen, in a peculiar sense, the words of God. But they were to be found everywhere. Like the springs of their own land,

[1] Ex. xix. 3–6. [2] Lev. xix. 2. [3] Num. xi. 26–30.

there was no hill or valley where the prophetic gift might not be expected to break forth. Miriam and Deborah, no less than Moses and Barak; in Judah and in Ephraim, no less than in Levi; in Tekoah and Tishbe, and, as the climax of all, in Nazareth, no less than in Shiloh or Jerusalem, God's present counsel might be looked for. By this constant attitude of expectation, if one may so call it, the ears of the whole nation were kept open for the intimations of the Divine Ruler under whom they lived. None knew beforehand who would be called. As Strabo well says, in his description of the Mosaic dispensation which I have before quoted, "all "might expect to receive the gift of good dreams" for themselves or their people, "all who lived temperately and "justly,—those always and those only." In the dead of night, as to Samuel; in the ploughing of the field, as to Elisha; in the gathering of the sycomore figs, as to Amos; the call might come. "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," was to be the ready and constant answer. And thus, even in its first establishment, the Theocracy, in its true sense, contained the warrant for its complete development. Moses was but the beginning; he was not, he could not be the end. The light on his countenance faded away, and had to be again and again rekindled in the presence of the Unseen. But his appearance, his character, his teaching, accustomed, familiarised the nation to this mode of revelation; and it would be at their peril, and against the whole spirit of the education received from him, if they refused to receive its later manifestations, from whatever quarter. "The LORD thy God will "raise up unto thee a *Prophet*, from *the midst of* thee, of "*thy brethren, like unto me.* Unto him *shall ye hearken.*" The same event, it has been truly remarked, never repeats itself in history. Yet a like event in one age is always a preparation for a like event in another, especially when the first event is one which involves the principle of the second. Moses,—

the expounder of the Theocracy, the founder of the Hebrew Prophets, the interpreter between God on Mount Sinai and Israel in the plain below, was the necessary forerunner, because the imperfect likeness, of the Last Prophet of the last generation of the Jewish theocracy. In the fullest sense might it be said to that generation: "*There is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust; for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me; but if ye believe not his writings, how will ye believe My* [1] *words?*"

The Law.

III. There was another point in the Revelation of Sinai not less permanent, and equally characteristic. We speak of it as a revelation of "Religion." But this was not the name by which it was known in ancient times. The Israelite spoke not of the "Religion" but of the "*Law*" of Moses. Moses was a Lawgiver [2] even more than he was a Prophet. In this aspect the Revelation presented itself, and from this were derived some of its most important features. At first sight it might appear as if "the Law" was not the form of truth for which the wild desert and the return to the wandering Arab life would have predisposed them; and as regards the minuteness of many of the enactments, Egypt, as I have before observed, and not Sinai, must be considered the fitting school of preparation. But those who have studied the Bedouin tribes know that there is no contradiction between their wild habits and an elaborate though purely traditional system of social and legal observances. Such a system has been carefully collected and expounded by the traveller Burckhardt, who thus close the first portion of his remarkable work: "The present state of the great Bedouin commonwealth of Arabia . . offers the rare example of a nation which, notwithstanding its perpetual state of warfare, without and within, has preserved, for a long succession of ages, its primitive laws in

[1] John v. 45-47.

[2] He is twice so called in the Pentateuch, Num. xxi. 18; Deut. xxxiii. 21.

"all their vigour. . . . But," he adds, "of the origin of "these laws nothing is known. . . . The ancient code of "one Bedouin tribe only has reached posterity. . . . The "Pentateuch was exclusively given to the [1] Beni-Israel."

It is this code of the Beni-Israel—the "sons of Israel" (the name itself is an enduring mark of their first Patriarchal state),—this one extant code of an ancient Bedouin tribe, which, bearing in mind this peculiarity of its first appearance, we have now to examine. Here, as elsewhere, it is only by remembering what there was immediate, historical, and local, that we shall be able fully to appreciate what there is of eternal and universal.

It has been a question often debated amongst scholars, how far the code of the Pentateuch was a collection of earlier, later, or contemporaneous customs, under one general system. It will here suffice to name those portions of the Law which, by direct connexion with the life of the Desert, can be traced back to the Sinaitic period.

Constitution of the Desert.

1. There is no express enactment of any form of government in the Mosaic Law. But the elders or chiefs of the tribes, who appear as the background of the primitive constitution, are distinctly Arabian, and in part existed before the [2] Exodus, in part, at least, may be ascribed to Jethro. The word is almost identical with the "Sheykh" [3] of modern times, and is the same which designates the chiefs of the Bedouin tribes of Midian. Their original names are [4] preserved. Together they formed a council of seventy, of which, as it would seem, Hur was the [5] head. They were chosen by the people, and dedicated by Moses. The priests were not part of [6] them. Through all the changes of the office, the name still continued. From time to time it appears in the settled period

[1] *Notes on the Bedouins*, i. 381.
[2] Ex. iv. 29.
[3] *Zakên*, Num. xxii. 4; see Gesenius, *sub voce*.
[4] Num. ii. 3–29; x. 14–27.
[5] Num. xi.; Ex. xxiv. 9, 14.
[6] 2 Chron. xxxi. 2.

of the [1] monarchy. On the dissolution of the kingdom it reasserts something of its original [2] importance. Out of the elders or Sheykhs of the desert thus grew the elders of the synagogues; and out of the elders of the synagogues,—with no change of name except that which took place in passing from Hebrew to Greek and from Greek to the languages of modern Europe, — the "Presbyters," "Prestres," and "Priests" of Christendom. That word and that office, so limited in its present meaning, is the direct descendant of the rudest and most primitive forms of the Jewish nation. The Christian Presbyter represents, not the high priest Aaron, but the Bedouin Jethro,—not the sacerdotal, but the primitive element of the ancient Church.

Encampment.

2. The Encampment and its movements were peculiar to the desert. Never again, after the first settlement in Canaan, could the sight have been conceived of the detailed arrangements which called forth the passionate burst of Balaam's admiration: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy "tabernacles, O Israel!" Many usages mentioned in connexion with it must have perished at once on their entrance into settled life. But relics of such a state are long to be traced both in their language and in their monuments. The very words "camp" and "tents" remained long after they had ceased to be literally applicable. "The tents of the "Lord" were in the precincts of the Temple. The cry of sedition, evidently handed down from ancient times, was, "To your tents, O Israel." "Without the [3] *camp*" was the expression applied even to the very latest events of Jerusalem. In like manner, the national war cries, always the oldest of national compositions, go back to this early state. The shout, "Rise up, O Lord, and let Thine enemies "be scattered; let them also that hate thee flee before Thee,"

[1] For instance, 1 Ks. viii. 1; 2 Ks. xxiii. 1.

[2] Jer. xxix. 2; Ezek. viii. 11, 12; 1 Mac. xii. 1, 36.

[3] Heb. xiii. 13.

was incorporated into the Psalms of the monarchy; but its first force came from the time when, morning by morning, it was repeated as the ark was slowly and solemnly raised on the shoulders of the Levites, and went forth against the enemies of God in the [1] desert. "Arise O Lord into Thy resting place! "Thou and the ark of Thy strength." "Give ear, O Shepherd "of Israel, Thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; Thou that "dwellest between the cherubim shine forth! Before Ephraim, "Benjamin and Manasseh, stir up Thy strength and come "and [2] help us." Grand and touching as is this address, taken in its application to the latest decline of the Jewish kingdom, it is still more so, when we see in it the reflected image of the order of the ancient march, when the ark of God went forth, the pillar of fire shining high above it, surrounded by the armed Levites, its rear guarded by the warrior tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, the brother and the sons of Joseph, doubtless intrusted with the embalmed remains of their mighty ancestor.

And if from these fragments of sacred speech we look at the actual relics of antiquity (in the literal sense of relics), their desert lineage is still more indisputable.

Down to the latest times of the monarchy was preserved, in the innermost sanctuary of the Temple, the ancient Ark or coffer of wood, purporting to be the same which had been made at Mount Sinai and carried through all their wanderings. Its form, as we have seen, possibly its religious significance, was derived from Egypt. But its material was such as can hardly be explained, except by the account given of its first appearance. It was not of oak, the usual wood of Palestine, nor of [3] cedar, the usual wood employed in Palestine for sacred purposes, but of *shittim* or acacia, a

The Ark.

[1] Num. x. 35, 36; Ps. lxviii. 1.
[2] Ps. lxxx. 1; Ps. cxxxii. 8.
[3] Rabbinical writers, in their ignorance, interpret *shittim* as "cedar." If we translate *shittim* as "cedar," and *tachash* (*vide infra*) as "bad-

tree of rare growth in Syria, but the most frequent, not even excepting the palm, in the Peninsula of Sinai.

What lay within the Ark, also of this period, shall be mentioned hereafter. Two lesser objects of interest were laid up, we know not for how long a time, in front of it, both relics of Sinai. One was the pot of manna. Many a perplexed controversy on the nature of the food which sustained the Israelites in the desert would have been spared, could we have but caught one glance at this its authentic perpetuation. It has been conjectured by Reland (and, in a matter of such obscurity, even the conjecture of so great a scholar may be worth notice), that the existence of this vessel, with the handles or ears by which it was supported, may have lent a pretext to the strange fable already quoted from Tacitus, that the Jewish sanctuary contained the figure of an ass's head, in commemoration of the events in the wilderness. Another object which lay beside the vessel of manna was the staff or rod of almond wood,—the sceptre of the tribe of Levi,—sometimes borne by Moses,[1] sometimes by Aaron, the emblem of the ancient shepherd life, when sceptre and crook were one and the same. The like staff is still carried by the present chiefs of the Sinaitic Peninsula.

The pot of Manna.

The staff of Aaron.

But the most remarkable vestige of the nomadic state of the nation was the Tabernacle or Tent, which was the shelter of the Ark long after the entrance into Canaan, and which was finally laid aside and treasured up in the chambers of the Temple, when the erection of that stately building rendered its further use superfluous. The Temple itself was in some important respects but a permanent and enlarged copy of the Tabernacle. The name of the Sacred Tent was thus used for the Temple long after

The Tabernacle.

ger," neither of which are found in the desert, we must, as was observed in Lecture VI., exchange the historical ground of the narrative for two imaginary miracles.

[1] See Num. xvii. 6; xx. 8–10.

it had itself been [1] discontinued. In these its later imitations and reminiscences, much more whilst it stood as the one Sanctuary of the nation, it was a constant memorial of the wandering state, in which they received their earliest forms of architecture and of worship. No Gothic or Byzantine style can reveal to us more clearly the dates of the churches and cathedrals of modern Europe, than those rough boards of acacia wood, those coarse tent-cloths of goat's-hair and ram-skin, dyed red after the Arabian fashion, indicated the epoch of the primitive Jewish sanctuary. Not a Druidical cromlech, like the Patriarchal Bethel, not a fixed house like the palatial structures of Pharaoh or of Solomon, but a tent, distinguished only by its larger dimensions and more costly materials from the rest of the Israelite encampment, was "the Ta-"bernacle of the Lord which Moses made in the wilder-"ness." On this simple dwelling, as of the Unseen Chief and Ruler of the host, was lavished all the art and treasure that the region could supply; skins of seals or fishes [2] from the adjoining gulfs of the Red Sea, linen coverings from the Egyptian spoils, to clothe the tent as though it were itself a living object, — almost as, at the present day, the sanctuary of Mecca is year by year clothed and reclothed with sumptuous velvets, the gifts of Mussulman [3] devotion. The names of the architects of the Temple of Solomon have perished, but the names of the builders of the Tabernacle, — the first founders of Jewish architecture, the rude beginners of Israelite, and through them of all religious, Art, are emphatically recorded — Bezaleel, the grandson of the great but mysterious Hur, and his companion Aholiab of the tribe

[1] Ezek. xli. 1; Ps. lxxvi. 2; lxxxiv. 1; "a resemblance of the Holy Tabernacle." Wisdom ix. 8.

[2] Such is the probable meaning of the word translated "badger." See Gesenius under *Tachash*. Also Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, i. 116.

[3] Burton's *Pilgrimage*, iii. 295.

of Dan. "See, the Lord hath called by name Bezaleel the "son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah: and He "hath filled him with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, in under- "standing, and in knowledge, and in all manner of work- "manship; and to devise curious works, to work in gold, and "in silver, and in brass, and in the cutting of stones to set "them, and in carving of wood, to make any manner of "cunning work. And He hath put in his heart that he may "teach, both he and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the "tribe of Dan." [1]

Sacrifice.

3. Amidst the various elements of worship which were to be carried on in and around the tabernacle, the most conspicuous was, so far as we can judge, peculiarly fitted to the mind of an Arabian tribe. We may indulge in philosophical or theological speculations concerning the institution of Sacrifice; but, historically (and this is the only point of view in which we are now to consider it), we cannot overlook its adaptation to the peculiar period of the Israelitish existence, in which we find it first described at length. Some of the forms are identical with those of Egypt and of India. But it is remarkable that the institution (taken in its most general aspect), after having perished everywhere else among the worshippers of One God, still lingers among that portion of the Semitic nations which more than any other represent the condition of Israel at Sinai. Extinct almost entirely in the Jewish race itself, it is still an important part of the worship of the Bedouin Arabs. In the desert of Sinai itself, sacrifice is still almost the only form which Bedouin religion takes, at the chief sanctuary of the peninsula, the tomb of Sheykh [2]Saleh, and on the summit of [3]Serbal. When Burckhardt wished to penetrate into the

[1] Ex. xxxv. 30-34.

[2] *Sinai and Palestine*, 57.

[3] Drew's *Scripture Lands*, 61. A sheep is sacrificed on the summit, and thrown over the rocks. Comp. the scapegoat. (Lev. xvi. 22.)

then inaccessible fastness of Petra, the pretext which afforded him the greatest security was that of professing a desire to sacrifice a goat at the tomb of Aaron. In the pilgrimage to Mecca, "the sacrifices in the valley of Muna are so "numerous and so intricate, that it is believed that none but "the Prophet knew [1] them." Whatever difficulty we have in analysing the feelings of an ancient Israelite in shedding the blood of a bull or a goat, or in wringing the neck of a pigeon before the altar, exists equally in the case of the like rites of a modern Mussulman. Simple as we may suppose the religion of that earliest stage of the national life of the Israelites to have been, Sacrifice is, by what we know of the Arabian religion, one of the most necessary forms which it could have assumed.

The tribe of Levi.

And as the sacrificial system was one which would be specially understood and felt at this early period, so also historically did the Levitical priesthood spring from the then existing framework of events. The "*tribe*" of Levi of itself indicates the nomad division. It has even down to this day preserved the recollection of that division, when all the other like distinctions of the Jewish nation have perished. The tribe of *Levi*, the family of *Aaron*, are almost the only permanent signs of the personal greatness of Moses and his brother. The supremacy of Israel was in later times shifted from one tribe to another, Ephraim, Benjamin, Judah. But this is the only period in which the leading spirits of the nation came from the tribe of Levi; and in which, therefore its moral preeminence gave a ground for its ceremonial preeminence also. Such a ground, implied doubtless in the case of Aaron, is expressly stated in the case of the tribe at large, when we are told that the origin of their consecration was to be found in the fierce zeal with which they rallied

[1] Burton's *Pilgrimage*, iii. 226, 303–313.

round Moses at the time of the Golden Calf, and "slew every "man his brother, and every man his companion, and every "man his neighbour."[1] The triple benediction, the especial function of the sacerdotal office, preserved in the family till this day, and commemorated even in the triple division of the fingers, and carved on the gravestones of those who are supposed to be Aaron's descendants, bears on its front the marks of the primitive age, in which alone it could have originated.[2]

The distinctions of food.

4. The distinction between various kinds of food is one which furnished the earliest questions of casuistry in the transition from the Jewish to the Christian Church, and which lingers in the remnants of the Jewish race to this day. It may be difficult to account entirely for the grounds of the distinction, but they may be traced with the greatest probability to the peculiarities of the condition of Israel at the time of the giving of the Law. The animals of which they might freely eat were those which belonged especially to their pastoral state — the ox, the sheep, and the goat, to which were added the various classes of chamois and gazelle. As we read the detailed permission to eat every class of what may be called the game of the wilderness,—"the wild "goat, and the roe, and the red-deer, and the ibex, and the "[3] antelope, and the chamois," — a new aspect is suddenly presented to us of a large part of the life of the Israelites in the desert. It reveals them to us as a nation of hunters; shows them to us, clambering over the smooth rocks, scaling the rugged pinnacles of Sinai, as the Arab chamois hunters of the present day, with bows and arrows instead of guns. Such pursuits they could only in a limited degree have followed in their own country. The permission,

[1] Ex. xxxii. 27. Compare Deut. xxxiii. 9.

[2] Num. vi. 24. Compare the gravestones in the Jewish cemetery at Prague.

[3] Its name, *Dishon*, is that of the son of Seir, (Gen. xxxvi. 21, 30).

the perplexity implied in the permission, could only have arisen in a place where the animals in question abounded. High up on the cliffs of Sinai the traveller still sees the herds of gazelles standing out against the sky; and no image was more constantly before the pilgrims, of whatever age they may be, who wrote the mysterious inscriptions in the Wady Mukatteb, and on the rock of Herîmat Haggag, than the long-horned ibex. In every form and shape of exaggeration it is there to be seen. What makes the enumeration more exclusively [1] Arabian in its character is the omission of the [2] "reem," or buffalo, so frequently mentioned in connexion with the wild pastures east and north of Palestine. In like manner the strict prohibitions may almost all be traced either to the intention of drawing some slight distinction between Israel and the mere wanderers of the desert, as in the case of the camel and jerboa, or to the strong recoil from Egypt, as in the case of the leprous swine and the serpent, in all its forms and shapes, so closely connected in Egypt with the mystical or obscene ceremonial from which they were now set free. We are accustomed, in the French and Saxon names used in our language for the various kinds of food, to trace the relative social position of the Normans and Saxons after the Conquest. A similar inference as to the original condition of the Israelites, may, in like manner, be deduced from the permission or prohibition of clean and unclean food, which must have long outlived the practical occasion whence they derived their first meaning and intention.

5. A whole class of laws appears to be explained, on the one hand, by the peculiar state against which they are

Blood revenge.

[1] The spots on the cliffs of the Dead Sea, east and west, where the ibex is to be found, are enumerated in Ritter, ii. 534, 562, 560, 580, 584, 585, 587, 595, 596, 673, 1098.

[2] Unless the word *teôh*, תְּאוֹ, occurring only in Deut. xiv. 5, and translated "wild ox," is so to be taken.

aimed; on the other hand, by their high elevation above that state, indicating the higher than any merely national source from whence they came. Of all the virtues of civilisation, the one which most incontestably follows in its train, and is most rarely anticipated in earlier ages, is humanity. And rare as this is everywhere in barbarous nations, it is rarest in the East. In the East and West the value of animal and of human life is exactly reversed. An Arab, who will be shocked at the notion of shooting his horse, will have no scruple in killing a man. And what was the fierceness of the ancient Semitic race, especially, is apparent both from the later Jewish history, and from that of the kindred nations of Phœnicia and Carthage. Against this the laws of Moses, in war, in slavery, and in the social relations of life, stand out, as has been often observed, in marvellous contrast. But there was one form of ferocity, then as now, peculiar to the Bedouin tribes, that of revenge for blood. To the fourth generation (it is the exact limit laid down both in the Bedouin custom and in the Mosaic law), the lineal descendant of a murdered man is to this day charged with the duty of avenging his[1] blood. This institution, so deeply seated in the Arab race as to have defied the course of centuries, and the efforts of three religions, was assumed and tolerated, like slavery, polygamy, or any of the other ancient Asiatic usages, which more or less lasted through the Jewish times. But it was restrained by the establishment of the cities of refuge. If, for the hardness of the Bedouin heart, Moses left the Avenger of Blood as he found him; yet, for the tenderness of heart infused by a "more excellent way," he reared those barriers against him. The common law of the desert found itself kept in check by

Cities of Refuge.

[1] The Goel ("redeemer") of the Hebrew is the Taïr ("survivor") of the Arab. Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 131.

the statute law of Palestine, and the six cities became (as far as we know from history) rather monuments of what had been, and of what might have been, than remedies of what was.

6. These are the most obvious instances of a direct connexion of any part of the Mosaic Law with the code of the desert. Of the rest of the Law, there is, for the most part, nothing which specially connects itself with the desert life, though its general savour of antiquity throws it back to the earliest period of which criticism will admit. The growth of general laws or customs out of particular occasions,—as for example the rule for the marriage of heiresses within their own tribe arising out of the case of the daughters of [1] Zelophehad, and the dispensation for accidental defilement from the incident of the dead body in the [2] camp, — is precisely the primitive stage of ancient law which we recognise in the "Themis" or "Themistes" of the Homeric [3] age. "He cast "a tree into the waters, and the waters were made sweet: "there he made for them a statute and an ordinance." This indication of the origin of the first Mosaic law at the well of Marah, though left unexplained, is probably a sample of the rise of many others. Again, the mode in which the religious, civil, moral, and ceremonial ordinances "are mingled up "together, without any regard to differences in their essential "character," has been well [4] observed to be consistent only with that early stage of thought, when law was not yet severed from morality, nor religion from law, nor ceremony from religion. It is, in fact, this primitive blending of heterogeneous elements which has given rise to the peculiar relations occupied by the Mosaic Law towards the Christian Church. "No law," says [5] Michaelis, "of such high antiquity The Law.

[1] Num. xxxvi. 8—11.
[2] Num. ix. 6.
[3] See Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 4.
[4] *Ibid.* 16.
[5] *Laws of Moses*, p. 2.

"has, in one connected body, reached our times, and it is, on "this account alone, very remarkable . . . . and, so long as "it remains unknown, the genealogy of our existing laws may "be said to be incomplete." Beyond this general descent of all modern laws from the code of the Jewish legislator, it is extremely difficult to point out any principle on which parts have been retained, and parts abolished. The Mosaic prohibition of usury continued in force throughout Christendom till the seventeenth century. The Mosaic sanction of slavery is still a strong support of that institution in the Southern States of North America. Our own marriage laws are mainly based on the Levitical code; and the question of Henry's divorce, which formed the occasion of the separation of the English from the Roman Church, turned on a minute point of Levitical casuistry. Even in its most general aspect, the relation of the Mosaic Law to the Gospel presents questions hardly yet answered by History or Theology. What was the Law of which the Psalmist spoke as that in the keeping of which he found light, and life, and peace, and comfort, and [1] salvation? or what the Law of which the Apostle spoke as though it were his personal enemy, the cause of death, and the strength of [2] sin? What was that Law of which "not one jot or tittle should pass away, till all "was fulfilled?" or that, which with all its ordinances was "blotted out," "taken out of the way," [3] "abolished?" The solution of these problems must be sought elsewhere. It is enough here to indicate them. They are proofs of the remote antiquity of the code and the institution, which could thus be personified, idealised, and applied in senses so different. They are proofs, also, of the freedom with which

[1] Ps. xix., cxix.

[2] Rom. vii. 7–11; 1 Cor. xv. 56. See Professor Jowett's Essay on "The Law, the Strength of Sin" (*Commentary on S. Paul's Epistles*, 2nd ed., ii. 493–502).

[3] Matt. v. 18; Col. ii. 14; Eph. ii. 15.

these various senses are used in the Sacred records both of the Jewish and Christian Churches. It was this most ancient and venerable of all the parts of the Old Dispensation, that furnished the antithesis, now become almost proverbial, between the "letter that kills," and "the spirit that "quickens."

There is one portion of the Law, however, which remarkably illustrates most of these questions, and which is evidently a monument of this earliest period of the history, as well as the kernel of the whole institution.

The Ten Commandments.

We read that when the Ark was carried in the reign of Solomon to its last retreat within the newly erected Temple, it was opened for the first time within the memory of man, to examine its sacred contents. It is impossible not to feel the interest of the moment, when the ancient lid of acacia wood was lifted up, and those who had heard of its hidden wonders saw its dark interior. "There was nothing "in the ark save the *two tables of stone*, which Moses put "there at Horeb, when the LORD made a covenant with the "children of Israel, when they came out of Egypt." Nothing save these. We know not their form or size. But we know the hard, imperishable granite of which they must have been hewn; we know its red hue; the style of engraving must have been such as can be still discerned in the Desert Inscriptions. These venerable fragments of the rock of Sinai, seen then, were seen, as far as we know, for the last time. They must have perished, or at least disappeared, when the Ark itself perished or disappeared in the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. But their contents have survived the wreck, not only of the Ark and Temple, but of the whole system of worship, of which they were the basis. The TEN COMMANDMENTS delivered on Mount Sinai have become embedded in the heart of the religion which has succeeded. Side by side with the Prayer of our Lord, and with the Creed of His

Church, they appear inscribed on our churches, read from our altars, taught to our children, as the foundation of all morality.

Their outward appearance.

The form in which they were presented to Israel in the wilderness is but of slight importance. Yet five points may be observed, as indicating their primitive, impenetrable simplicity. First, the number, Ten, as drawn from the most obvious form of calculation, becomes, as if in imitation of this sacred code, the form in which many of the lesser enactments are cast. As many as six groups of this kind may be traced [1] in the different parts of the Pentateuch. Secondly, the fact that they were on two blocks of stone, probably of nearly equal size, and the variations in the versions of Exodus and Deuteronomy, almost necessarily lead to the inference that the Commandments alone must have been engraven without the reasons for their observance. Thirdly, the same general consideration, combined with the form in which the Commandments run, indicates that the original division of the Tables differed from that of all modern churches. Five Commandments were in all probability on the first, and five on the second table; amongst those on the first would thus be included that which now usually ranks at the head of the second, but which then was placed amongst the general commandments of reverence to superiors whether divine or [2] human. Fourthly, unlike our modern idea of the Commandments, but like the written rocks of the desert, the inscriptions run over both sides: "the tables were written on "both their sides; on the one side and the other were they "[3] written." This was probably to give the impression of

[1] (1) Ex. xxi. 2–11. (2) Ex. xxii. 6–26. (3) Ex. xxiii. 1–9. (4) Ex. xxiii. 10–19. (5) Levit. vii. 1–10. (6) Levit. vii. 11–21. Ewald, ii. 157–159. He gives others, but they seem too uncertain to deserve notice.

[2] As *Pietas* amongst the Romans. Ewald, ii. 151. So Philo and Josephus, and Irenæus (*Hær.* ii. 13).

[3] Ex. xxxii. 15.

their completeness. Fifthly, they are not properly "the Ten *Commandments*," but "the Ten [1] *Words*" — Decalogue. Hence the first of them is, in the Jewish division, not a commandment at all.

This was the form: what was the substance of the Ten Commandments? . . . What has the human race gained by its adoption of what Burckhardt called "the code of the Beni-Israel"? It is, in one word, the declaration of the indivisible unity of morality with religion. It was the boast of [2] Josephus, that whereas other legislators had made religion to be a part of virtue, Moses had made virtue to be a part of religion. Of this, amongst all other indications, the Ten Commandments are the most remarkable and enduring example. Delivered with every solemnity of which place and time could admit, treasured up with every sanctity which Religion could confer, within the holiest shrine of the holiest of the holy places,—more sacred than altar of sacrifice, or altar of incense — they yet contain almost nothing of local or ceremonial injunction. However sacred the ritual with which they and the other moral laws were surrounded, yet we have the highest authority for distinguishing between what was essential and non-essential in the Mosaic institutions, and for believing that even the whole sacrificial system was as nothing compared with the Decalogue and its enforcements. "I spake not unto your fathers, "nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them "out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or "sacrifices. But this thing commanded I them, saying, "Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my "[3] people." . . . .

Their identification of morality and religion.

If there was in the Fourth commandment the injunction to

[1] See margin of Exod. xxxiv. 28.
[2] *C. Apion*, ii. 17.
[3] Jer. vii. 21-23.

consecrate, by unbroken rest, the seventh day of every week, yet experience has shown how widely adapted the principle of this observance has been to all times and countries. Even those who most zealously repudiate the obligation of the Mosaic Law, and who dwell most forcibly on the distinction between the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday, acknowledge that no other ancient ceremony has so maintained its hold on the world, and that without its antecedent support the observance of Sunday would hardly have exercised the beneficial influence which none deny to it. The Patriarchal rites of Circumcision and of Sacrifice have vanished away, but the name of the Sabbath of the Decalogue, the Sabbath of Mount Sinai,—as if it partook of the universal spirit of the code in which it is enshrined,—is still, as though by a natural anomaly, revered by thousands of Gentile Christians. If this be so even in the one exception to the spiritual and moral character of the Decalogue, much more is it with the remaining nine of these fundamental laws. "Thou shalt have none other gods "but One," "Thou shalt do no murder," "Thou shalt not "commit adultery," "Thou shalt not steal," are still as impressive and as applicable as when first heard and written. And if in the Second, and Fourth, and Fifth commandments some expressions retain a local and temporary character, yet these do but serve as proofs of the hoary antiquity from which they have come down to us. The words were "written by the "finger of God," but the Tables were not less surely fragments hewn out of the rock of Horeb. Hard, stiff, abrupt as the cliffs from which they were taken, they remain as the firm, unyielding basis on which all true spiritual religion has been built up and sustained. Sinai is not Palestine,—the Law is not the Gospel; but the Ten Commandments, in letter and in spirit, remain to us as the relic of that time. They represent to us, both in fact and in idea, the granite foundation,

the immovable mountain on which the world is built up; without which all theories of religion are but as shifting and fleeting clouds; they give us the two homely fundamental laws, which all subsequent Revelation has but confirmed and sanctified,—the Law of our duty towards God, and the Law of our duty towards our neighbour.[1]

[1] See Appendix III.

LECTURE VIII.

KADESH AND PISGAH.

THE close of the history of the Wanderings bears on its face the marks of confusion and omission.

Two stages alone of the journey are distinctly visible, from Sinai to Kadesh, and from Kadesh to Moab.

Journey from Sinai to Kadesh.

I. I have elsewhere [1]pointed out the profound obscurity in which the Mosaic narrative has wrapt the first of these two periods. Not merely are the names of nearly all the encampments still lost in uncertainty, but the narrative itself draws the mind of the reader in different directions; and the variations, in some instances as it would seem, of the text itself, [2]repel detailed inquiry still more positively.

To this outward confusion corresponds the inward and spiritual aspect of the history. It is the period of reaction, and contradiction, and failure. It is chosen by [3]S. Paul as the likeness of the corresponding failure of the first efforts of the primitive Christian Church;—the one "type" of the Jewish History expressly mentioned by the writers of the New Testament. It left hardly any permanent trace on the history of the people, and, therefore, according to the plan laid down in these Lectures, may be passed with the same rapidity with which it is passed by the Sacred Record itself. Some few institutions, or fragments, however, of institutions, come down to the Jewish, and even into the

[1] *Sinai and Palestine*, 92.

[2] Comp. Deut. x. 6, 7, with Num. xxxiii. 30—36.

[3] 1 Cor. x. 11. "These things happened unto them for examples"—"types" in the original. This is the true meaning of the word; and it is the only case in which it is applied in the New Testament to the Jewish History.

Christian Church, from that time; and some few salient points emerge full of eternal significance.

The brazen plates which covered the ancient wooden altar, and which were perpetuated in "the brazen altar" of Solomon's temple, were traced back to the relics of the censers of brass which had belonged to the chiefs of the great conspiracy of the tribes of Levi and Reuben against the rule of the two prophet-brothers of the family of Aaron. Never again did Levi make the attempt to gain the possession of the priesthood; nor Reuben to seize the reins of government. The two tribes afterwards became entirely parted asunder in their characters and fortunes: the one was incorporated into the innermost circle of the settled civilisation of Palestine; the other hovered on the very outskirts of the Holy Land and chosen people, and dwindled away into a Bedouin tribe. But the story of Korah belongs to a time when they, with Simeon, still breathed the same fierce and uncontrollable spirit of their Arabian ancestry; when Levi was still fresh from the great crisis in Sinai, by which their tribe had been consecrated and divided from the rest; when the recollection of the birthright of Reuben still lingered in the minds of his descendants. In the desert they marched side by side; and their joint conspiracy naturally grew out of their joint [1]neighbourhood. It was the last expiring effort of the old traditions of the Beni-Israel against the constitution of the new order of things, which every generation would more firmly establish. "Thou leddest Thy people like sheep by "the hand of Moses and Aaron."

The brazen plates of the altar.

Conspiracy of Levi and Reuben.

Another relic of that dark time was one which remained till the time of Hezekiah in the Jewish Church, but which, partly in symbol and partly in pretensions to the reality, has prevailed even to our own day in the Christian Church. "The "serpent of brass that Moses had made" was long cherished as a sacred image in the sanctuaries of Judah and Jerusalem.

The Brazen Serpent.

[1] See Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, Pt. I. § XX.

Incense was offered to it, and a name conferred on [1] it; and, even after its destruction by Hezekiah, the recollection of it was still so endeared to the nation, that from it was drawn one of the most sacred similitudes of the New Testament; and even the Christian Church claimed for centuries to have preserved its very form intact in the church of S. Ambrose, at Milan. The snakes against which the brazen serpent was originally raised as a protection, were peculiar to the eastern portion of the Sinaitic desert. There, and nowhere else, and in no other moment of their history, could this symbol have originated.

Amidst the general obscurity and doubts of this period of the wanderings, one spot emerges, if not into certainty, at least into unmistakable prominence. It is in this stage of the history, almost what Sinai was in the first. "He brought "them to Mount Sinai and to [2] Kadesh Barnea." It is the only place dignified by the name of a "city." Its very name implies its sanctity—"the Holy Place;" as if, like Mount Sinai itself, it had a sacredness of its own before the host of Israel encamped within its precincts: possibly from the old oracular spring of [3] judgment described in the earliest times of the Canaanitish history. The encampment there is distinct in character from any other in the wilderness, except the stay at Sinai. Once, if not twice, "they abode there many days." Situated as it was within the Edomite territory, its close connexion with Israel invested with a kind of Sinaitic glory the whole range of the Idumean mountains. "O "Jehovah, when Thou wentest out of *Seir*, when Thou "marchedst out of [4] *Edom*." "God came from *Teman*, and "the Holy One from [5] Mount Paran." "Jehovah came from

Kadesh.

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 4. Our translation treats the name Nehushtan as a title of contempt applied to it by Hezekiah, but it is more accurate to render the words "one called it," *i. e.*, "it was commonly called." See Mr. Wright in *Dict. of the Bible*, "Nehushtan." The name seems to combine the significations of "serpent," "brass," "divination."

[2] Judith v. 14.

[3] En-Mishpat, "Spring of Judgment,"—"which is Kadesh," Gen. xiv. 7.

[4] Judg. v. 4.

[5] Hab. iii. 3.

"Sinai and rose up from Mount *Seir* unto them: He shined "forth from Mount Paran, and He came with the ten "thousands of [1] Kadesh."

On what precise spot amongst the rocks of Edom this "Holy Place" was enshrined, is a question even more uncertain than that which regards the exact locality of Sinai. But nothing has been yet discovered to shake the substantial truth of the Jewish, Mussulman, and Christian traditions, which have fixed it in the neighbourhood of the city afterwards known by the name of the "Cliff," or "Rock." That huge sandstone "cliff," through which the most romantic of ravines admits the stream of living water to fertilise the bason of Petra, and which, doubtless, was the origin of the later Hebrew and Greek title of the city, still bears the name of Moses; and in its rent the Arabian tribes still believe that they see the mark of his wonder-working staff. Petra.

It is this scene of the giving of water to the angry Israelites and "their beasts" ("The Thirst" of Murillo's famous picture), on which our attention is chiefly fixed, and which is identified either with the new name, or the new turn given to the old name of the place, "[2] Meribah Kadesh," "*Strife and Sanctity.*" But there are two other events which more distinctly mark the stage of the history at which we have arrived. In Kadesh passed away the eldest born of the ruling family of Israel. "Miriam died there and was buried there," in one of the rock-hewn tombs which perforate the whole range of the hills surrounding Petra; it may be, in that secluded spot still [3]known by the sacred name of the "Convent," still scaled by the long ascent cut out of the rock for the approach of pilgrims in ages beyond the reach of history. The mourning for her death, according to [4] Josephus, lasted for thirty days, Death and burial of Miriam.

[1] So the LXX. in Deut. xxxiii. 2. See Ewald, ii. 257.

[2] Numb. xx. 12, 13.

[3] See *Sinai and Palestine*, 96.

[4] He states (*Ant.* iv. 4, § 6) that she was buried in state on the top of Mount Sin.

and was [1]terminated by the ceremony which remained to the last days of the Commonwealth, the sacrifice, as if in special allusion to the departed Prophetess, of the red Heifer. Close in the neighbourhood of Kadesh passed away the second of the family. On the summit of Mount Hor, immediately facing that other sanctuary of which we just now spoke, has, for at least two thousand years, been shown the grave of Aaron. From that craggy top he—like his younger brother, forbidden to enter the Promised Land— surveyed, though in a far more distant view, the outskirts of Palestine. He surveyed, too, in its fullest extent, the dreary mountains, barren platform, and cheerless valley, of the desert through which they had passed. It was a Pisgah, not of prospect, but of retrospect: it was, if we may venture so far to draw out its meaning, the appropriate end of the chief representative of the sacerdotal order of his nation, clinging to the past, looking back to Egypt, with no encouraging word for the future; —the opposite of that wide and varied vista which opened before the first of the Prophets. The succession of the Priesthood, that link of continuity between the past and present, now first introduced into the Jewish Church, and amidst all changes of form never entirely lost in the Christian Church, — was continued to his son Eleazar. It was made through that singular usage, preserved even to the latest [2]days of the Jewish hierarchy, by the transference of the vestments and drapery of the dead High Priest to the living successor. "Moses stripped Aaron of his garments and put them upon "Eleazar his son, and Aaron died there in the top of the "mount; and Moses and Eleazar came down from the "mount, and when all the congregation saw that Aaron was "dead, they mourned for Aaron thirty days, even all the "house of Israel." In this, their first great national sorrow, they parted from Kadesh, from Mount Hor, and from the

Death and burial of Aaron.

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 4, § 6.

[2] Ewald, *Geschichte*, v. 13.

inhospitable race of their kindred tribe of Esau; under the now undivided sway of the youngest, and greatest, and only remaining child of the family of Amram.

Even he had borne his share in the gloom of this period. In the incident of the calling forth of the water from the cliff of Kadesh, occurs the expression of distrust on the part not only of Aaron but of Moses.[1] It is but a single blot in the career of the Prophet, and it is but slightly touched by the Sacred narrative. Still it was thought sufficiently important for Josephus, after his manner, to suppress all mention of it; and it just reveals that shade of weakness in the character of Moses, which adds so much to its general strength. Doubts of Moses.

He doubted, and his doubt is not concealed. He doubted once in a moment of gloom and irritation; but he did not, therefore, doubt everything and always: and he is not less revered as the chief Prophet of the Jewish Church. It is to this side of his character that, in the Koran, is attached the remarkable story intended to repress his murmurs against the inscrutable ways of Providence, which tells how he met, by the shores of the Red Sea, the mysterious visitant from the other world, El Khudr, "The Green, or Immortal One, "One of the servants of God." And Moses said unto him, "Shall I follow thee, that thou mayest teach me part of that "which thou hast been taught for a direction unto me?" He answered, "Verily thou canst not bear with me; for how "canst thou patiently suffer those things the knowledge "whereof thou dost not comprehend?" Moses replied, "Thou shalt find me patient if God please; neither will I "be disobedient unto thee in anything." He said, "If thou "follow me, therefore, ask me not concerning anything "until I declare the meaning thereof unto thee." They proceed on their journey. The stranger successively makes Story of El Khudr.

[1] "Shall we," *i. e.* '*can* we' (not 'shall *we*') "fetch water out of this 'cliff,'" Num. xx. 10. It is only made the ground of his exclusion from Palestine, in Num. xxvii. 12–14, Deut. xxxii. 51.

a hole in a ship on the sea, slays an innocent youth, and rebuilds a tottering wall in a city where they had been unjustly treated. At each transaction Moses asks the reason and is rebuked. At the conclusion the explanation is given. "The vessel belonged to certain poor men, and I was minded "to render it unserviceable, because there was a certain "King behind them who took every sound ship by force. "The youth, had he grown up, would have vexed his parents "by ingratitude and perverseness. The wall belonged to "two orphan youths, and under it was hidden a treasure; "and their father was a righteous man; and thy Lord was "pleased that they should attain to their full age, and take "forth this treasure by the mercy of thy Lord. And I did "not what thou hast seen by my own will, but by God's "direction. This is the interpretation of that which thou "couldest not hear with [1]patience."

Journey from Kadesh to Moab.

II. From this point, the geography and the history at once begin to clear up. We trace the course of the host with the utmost distinctness down the Arabah to the Gulf of Elath. At the head of the gulf — to be no more revisited by Israelitish wanderers, till it became the exit of Solomon's commerce — they turned the southern corner of the Idumean range by the Wady Ithm, and then skirting the eastern frontier of Edom, finally crossed into what became their home for many months, perhaps years, — the vast range of forest and pasture on the east of the Jordan.

Passage of the Zered.

It was a marked epoch in their journeyings — almost an anticipation of the passage of the Jordan itself — when, after having crossed the watercourse or torrent, [2]shaded or overgrown by willows, that formed the first boundary of the desert,

[1] *Koran*, c. xviii. 64—81. This is the story adopted in Parnell's *Hermit*. I have incorporated it here, as the most universally interesting of the traditions concerning Moses.

[2] The watercourse of Zered, "the abundant tree," (Deut. ii. 13, 18) or of "the willows" (Isa. xv. 7; Amos vi. 14) is spoken of as the southern frontier of Moab.

they passed the stream of the Arnon,—the first that they had seen since the Nile,—which, flowing through its deep defile of sandstone rocks, parts the cultivated land of Moab from the wild mountains of Edom. Two fragments of ancient song remain, celebrating with triumphant strains these two memorable fords,— Passage of the Arnon.

> "Now rise up,
> And get you over the watercourse of Zered." [1]

And again, in still more emphatic language,—

> "What he did in the flags by the river side,
> And in the torrents of Arnon,
> And at the pouring forth of the brooks
> That goeth down to the dwellings of Ar
> And lieth on the border of [2] Moab."

Their first halt brings before us a scene, such as had before, doubtless, marked their encampments in the desert, but now with an indication that they were approaching the cultivated land. It was no longer by the natural springs, as of Elim or Marah, nor by the living stream gushing out of the rock, as at Horeb and Kadesh, that they rested. Here, as on the southern frontier of Palestine, *Beer*-sheba, and *Beer*-lahai-roi, we find "the well," the deep cavity sunk in the earth by the art of man. Long afterwards the spot was known, from this the first visit, as [3] *Beer-elim*, "the well of the heroes." Rabbinical tradition represented it as the last appearance of the spring or well of Miriam, that had followed them through their wanderings, and had bubbled up once more before it finally plunged into the Lake of Gennesareth. The well of the heroes.

But the original account of it is more touching even than this picturesque [4] legend,—

"That is the well whereof the Lord said unto Moses—

> "Gather the people together,
> I will give them water."

[1] Deut. ii. 13.

[2] Num. xxi. 14, 15.

[3] Isa. xv. 8; see *Sinai and Palestine*, Appendix, § 56.

[4] See Lecture VI., and Mr. Grove on "Beer" and "Beer-elim," in *Dict. of Bible.*

The nation long preserved the song addressed, as if with a passionate invocation, to the water which lay hid in this well, by those who came to draw from it.

"Spring up, O well! sing ye unto it!
The well which the princes digged,
The nobles of the people digged it
With the sceptre of the Lawgiver,
With the 'staves of their tribes.'"

It was the expression of the thankful feeling that in that simple but precious gift of water all had borne their part from the least to the greatest: that it was no ordinary tool, no staff of divination, but the rod of their great leader Moses, the sceptres of the chiefs of the tribes that had wrought this homely work, and left the refreshing boon to posterity. There are many who hail this clear, undoubted burst of [1] primitive Hebrew poetry, out of the disjointed structure of the Sacred History, almost as gratefully as the event which it commemorates was hailed by the Israelites themselves.

The last days of Moses.

From their entrance into the territory of Moab the history presents itself under two distinct aspects. The first is that of the earliest stage of the conquest of Palestine. The second is that of the last days of Moses. The first of these will be most conveniently considered in detail in the next Lecture. But the general results of this conquest introduce a scene in the history which can only be considered in this place, because it suddenly gives us, before we finally take farewell of the great Prophet of Israel, a glimpse of another Prophet, who for a moment fills our whole view, and who, though he leaves no enduring mark on the history of the Jewish Church, has occupied so large a place in Christian theology as to rank amongst the most interesting characters of the Old Dispensation.

A unity of place links together the Two Prophets, else so wide apart; and, as if with a consciousness of this,

[1] Compare Herder (*Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, vol. xxxiv. p. 225).

the shadow of the great mountain, where the two scenes which connect them were enacted, is thrown before at the very beginning of this portion of the narrative. "They came from "Nahali-el to Bamoth, 'the high places,' and from Bamoth to "the 'ravine' that is in the field of Moab, to the top of "'PISGAH which looketh towards [1] Jeshimon, the waste.'"

Balaam.

1. It is one of the striking proofs of the Divine universality of the Old Testament, that the veil is from time to time drawn aside, and other characters than those which belonged to the Chosen People, appear in the distance, fraught with an instruction which even transcends the limits of the Jewish Church, and not only in place, but in time, far outruns the teaching of any peculiar age or nation. Such is the discussion of the profoundest questions of religious philosophy in the book of the Gentile Job. Such is the appearance of the Gentile Prophet Balaam. He is one of those characters of whom, whilst so little is told that we seem to know nothing of him, yet, whatever that little is, raises him at once to the highest pitch of interest. His home is [2] beyond the Euphrates, amongst the mountains where the vast streams of Mesopotamia have their rise. But his fame is known across the Assyrian desert, through the Arabian tribes, down to the very shores of the Dead Sea. He ranks as a warrior chief (by that combination of soldier and prophet, already seen in Moses himself) with the five kings of [3] Midian. He is regarded throughout the whole of the East as a Prophet, whose blessing or whose curse was irresistible, the rival, the possible conqueror of Moses. In his career is seen that recognition of Divine Inspiration outside the Chosen People, which the narrowness of modern times has been so eager to deny, but which the [4] Scriptures are always ready to

His position.

[1] Num. xxi. 20.

[2] Ib. xxii. 5, xxiii. 7, xxiv. 6; "the river" = Euphrates.

[3] Ib. xxxi. 8.

[4] Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 6, § 13) considers it a special matter of commendation on Moses that, in spite of Balaam's hostility to the chosen people, he yet

acknowledge, and, by acknowledging, admit within the pale of the teachers of the Universal Church, the higher spirits of every age and of every nation.

His character.

His character, Oriental and primeval though it be, is delineated with that fineness of touch which has rendered it the storehouse of theologians and moralists in the most recent ages of the Church. Three great divines have from different points of view drawn out, without exhausting, the subtle phases of his greatness and of his fall. The self-deception which persuades him in every case that the sin which he commits may be brought within the rules of conscience and [1] revelation; the dark shade cast over a noble course by standing always on the ladder of advancement, and by the suspense of a worldly ambition never [2] satisfied; the combination of the purest form of religious belief with a standard of action immeasurably [3] below it; these have given to the story of Balaam, the son of Beor, a hold over the last hundred years, which it never can have had over any period of the human mind less critical or less refined.

One feels a kind of awe in the gradual preparation, with which he is brought before us, as if in the foreboding of some great catastrophe. The King of the civilised Moabites unites with the Elders, or Sheykhs, of the Bedouin Midianites, to seek for aid against the powerful nation who (to use their own peculiarly pastoral image) "licked up all that were round "about them, as the ox licked up the grass of the [4] field" of Moab. Twice, across the whole length of the Assyrian desert,

"rightly honoured him by thus recording his prophecies," which he might have appropriated to himself. The form of this statement is conceived in the prosaic fashion of Josephus. But the spirit of it is perfectly just and applies to the Bible generally. Balaam was no more a member of the Jewish Church than was Socrates. He was as great an enemy of the Church as Julian. But not the less has the sacred historian done that justice to the alien and the enemy, which many Christian theologians have made it a point of honour to deny.

[1] Butler's *Sermons*, vii.

[2] Newman's *Sermons*, iv. 21.

[3] Arnold's *Sermons*, vi. 55, 56.

[4] Num. xxii. 4.

the messengers, with the Oriental bribes of divination in their hands, are sent to conjure forth the mighty seer from his distant [1] home. In the permission to go when, once refused, he presses for a favourable answer, which at last comes, though leading him to ruin, we see the peculiar turn of teaching which characterises the purest of the ancient heathen oracles. It is the exact counterpart of the elevated rebuke of the Oracle at Cumæ to Aristodicus, and of the Oracle of Delphi to [2] Glaucus. Reluctantly, at last he comes. The dreadful apparition on the way, the desperate resistance of the terrified animal, the furious determination of the Prophet to advance, the voice, however [3] explained, which breaks from the dumb creature that has saved his life, all heighten the expectation of the message that he is to deliver. When Balaam and Balak first meet, the short dialogue, preserved not by the Mosaic historian but by the Prophet [4] Micah, at once exhibits the agony of the King and the lofty conceptions of the great seer. "O my people, remember what Balak, king of Moab, "consulted, and what Balaam, the son of Beor, answered. "'*Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself* "'*before the High God? Shall I come before Him with* "'*burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord* "'*be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thou-*"'*sands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my* "'*transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my* "'*soul?*'" So speaks the superstitious feeling of all times, but, in a peculiar sense, of the royal house of Moab, always ready, in a national crisis, to appease offended Heaven by the [5] sacrifice of the heir to the throne. The reply is such

His journey.

The first interview of Balaam and Balak.

[1] Compare, for this extended intercourse between such distant localities Blunt's *Coincidences*, Pt. I. § xxiii.

[2] Herod. i. *53*, *55*; vi. 85; compare 1 Kings xxii. 22; Ezek. xiv. *5*.

[3] Hengstenberg (*Geschichte Bileams*, 50–54) represents it as a dream or trance.

[4] Micah vi. *5*, &c.

[5] Comp. 2 Kings iii. 27 (see Mr. Grove on "Moab" in *Dict. of Bible*). This coincidence seems of itself sufficient to show that this passage of Micah vi. is not, as some have supposed, a merely general statement,

as breathes the very essence of the Prophetic spirit, such as had at that early time hardly expressed itself distinctly even within the Mosaic Revelation itself. "*He hath showed thee, "O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of "thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk "humbly with thy God.*"

The divinations.

If this is, indeed, intended to describe the first meeting of the King and the Seer, it enhances the pathos of the struggle which continues through each successive interview. Sometimes the one only, sometimes both together, are seen striving to overpower the voice of conscience and of God with the fumes of sacrifice, yet always failing in the attempt, which the Prophet had himself at the outset declared to be vain. The eye follows the Two, as they climb upwards from height to height along the extended range, to the [1] "high places" dedicated to Baal, on the "top of the rocks,"—[2] "the bare hill" close above it,—the [3] "cultivated field" of the Watchmen (Zophim) on the top of [4] Pisgah,—to the peak where stood "the sanctuary of Peor, that looketh toward the waste." It is at this point that the scene has been caught in the well-known lines of the poet —

"O for a sculptor's hand
That thou mightst take thy stand,
Thy wild hair floating on the eastern breeze,
Thy tranc'd yet open gaze
Fix'd on the desert haze,
As one who deep in heav'n some airy pageant sees.

"In outline dim and vast
Their fearful shadows cast,
The giant forms of Empire on their way
To ruin: one by one
They tow'r and they are gone.
Yet in the Prophet's soul the dreams of avarice stay." [5]

but is intended for the dialogue between Balaam and Balak.

[1] *Bamoth*, Num. xxii. 41.

[2] *Shefi*, Ib. xxiii. 3, 9.

[3] *Sadeh*, Ib. xxiii. 14.

[4] Num. xxiii. 28; Deut. xxxiv. 1.

[5] Keble's *Christian Year*, 2nd Sunday after Easter.

Behind him lay the vast expanse of desert extending to the shores of his native Assyrian river. On his left were the red mountains of Edom and Seir: opposite were the dwelling-places of the Kenite, in the rocky fastnesses of Engedi; further still was the dim outline of the Arabian wilderness, where ruled the then powerful tribe of Amalek; immediately below him lay the vast encampment of Israel, amongst the acacia groves of Abel Shittim, — like the [1] watercourses of the mountains, like the hanging gardens beside his [2] own river Euphrates, with their aromatic shrubs, and their wide-spreading cedars. Beyond them, on the western side of Jordan, rose the hills of Palestine, with glimpses through their valleys of ancient cities towering on their crested heights. And beyond all, though he could not see it with his bodily vision, he knew well that there rolled the deep waters of the great sea, with the Isles of Greece, the Isle of Chittim,— a world of which the first beginnings of life were just stirring, of which the very name here first breaks upon our ears.

These are the points indicated in the view which lay before the Prophet as he stood on the Watchers' Field, on the top of Pisgah. What was the vision which unrolled itself as he heard the words of God, as he saw the vision of the Almighty, [3] "falling" prostrate in the prophetic trance, "but having "the eyes" of his mind and his spirit "open?" The outward forms still remained. He still saw the tents below, goodly in their array; he still saw the rocks, and hills, and distant desert: but, as his thought glanced from height to height, and from valley to mountain, the future fortunes of the nations who dwelt there unfolded themselves in dim succession, revolving round and from the same central object.

From the midst of that vast encampment he seemed to see streams, as of water flowing to and fro over the valleys, The Vision.

[1] *Nachal*, Num. xxiv. 6.
[2] *Nahar* (ibid.)
[3] The same word as in 1 Sam. xix. 24; comp. Jos. *Ant.* iv. 6, § 12.

giving life to the dry desert and to the salt [1] sea. He seemed to see a form as of a [2]mighty lion couched amidst the thickets, or on the mountain fastnesses of Judah, "and none "should rouse him up;" or the "wild [3]bull" raging from amidst the archers of Ephraim, trampling down his enemies, piercing them through with the well-known [4]arrows of the tribe. And yet again, in the more distant future, he "saw, "but not now,"—he "beheld, but not nigh,"—as with the intuition of his Chaldæan art,—"a Star," bright as those of the far Eastern sky, "come out of Jacob;" and "a sceptre," like the shepherd's staff that marked the ruler of the tribe, "rise out of "Israel:" and then, as he watched the course of the surrounding nations, he saw how, one by one, they would fall, as fall they did, before the conquering sceptre of David, before the steady advance of that Star which then, for the first time, rose out of Bethlehem. And, as he gazed, the vision became wider and wider still. He saw a time when a new tempest would break over all these countries alike, from the remote east, —from Assur, from his own native land of Assyria. "Assur "shall carry thee away captive." But at that word another scene opened before him, and a cry of horror burst from his lips: "Alas! who shall live when God doeth this!" For his own nation, too, was to be at last overtaken. "For ships "shall come from the coast of Chittim," — from the island of Cyprus, which, as the only one visible from the heights of Palestine, was the one familiar link with the western world— "and shall crush Assur, and shall crush Eber, 'the people "'beyond the Euphrates,' and he also shall perish for ever."

So it came to pass, when the ships of Cyprus, of Greece, of Europe, then just seen in the horizon of [5]human hopes and fears, did at last, under the great Macedonian conqueror,

[1] Num. xxiv. 7, as in Ezek. xlvii. 8.
[2] Ibid. 9.
[3] Ibid. 8, Auth. Vers. "unicorn."
[4] Compare Ps. lxxviii. 9.
[5] The earliest known event to which this could refer was the attack on the colony of Sardanapalus in Cilicia by the Cyprian fleet. Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. pp. 26, 27. For the general relations of Cyprus to the East see Sharpe's

turn the tide of eastern invasion backwards; and Asshur and Babylon, Assyria and Chaldæa, and Persia, no less than the wild hordes of the desert, "perished for ever" from the [1] earth.

It has often been debated, and no evidence now remains to prove, at what precise time this grandest of all its episodes was introduced into the Mosaic narrative. But, however this may be determined, the magnificence of the vision remains untouched; and it stands in the Sacred record, the first example of the Prophetic utterances respecting the destinies of the world at large; founded, like all such utterances, on the objects immediately in the range of the vision of the seer, but including within their sweep a vast prospect beyond. Here first the Gentile world, not of the East only but of the West, bursts into view; and here is the first sanction of that wide interest in the various races and empires of mankind, not only as bearing on the fortunes of the Chosen People, but for their own sakes also, which the narrow spirits of the Jewish Church first, and of the Christian Church since, have been so slow to acknowledge. Here, too, is exhibited in its most striking form the irresistible force of the Prophetic impulse overpowering the baser spirit of the individual man. The spectacle of the host of Israel, even though seen only from its utmost skirts, is too much for him. The Divine message struggling within him, is delivered in spite of his own sordid resistance. Many has been the Balaam whom the force of truth or goodness from without, or the force of genius or conscience from within, has compelled to bless the enemies whom he was hired to curse.

"Like the seer of old,
Who stood on Zophim, heav'n-controll'd."

"And Balaam rose up and went and returned to his own

[1] For "ships of Chittim" the Vulgate reads "galleys from Italy." The general sense of "the West" is still preserved. But the exchange of the familiar island of Cyprus for the country, at that time unknown and

"place." The Sacred historian, as if touched with a feeling of the greatness of the Prophet's mission, drops the veil over its dark close. Only by the incidental [1] notice of a subsequent part of the narrative, are we told how Balaam endeavoured to [2] effect by the licentious rites of the Arab tribes, the ruin which he had been unable to work by his curses; and how, in the war of vengeance which followed, he met with his mournful end.

Farewell of Moses.

2. The intermingling of the narratives of the Book of Numbers, the Book of Deuteronomy, the Book of Joshua; the rise of new names, Eleazar, Phineas, Jair; indicate that we are approaching the confines of another generation, and another stage of the history. But the main interest still hangs round Moses, and round the heights of Pisgah. We need not here discuss the vexed question of the precise time when the Book of [3] Deuteronomy assumed its present form. It is enough to feel that it represents to us the long farewell of the Prophet and Lawgiver, as he stood amongst the groves of Abel Shittim, and recapitulated the course of his career and of his legislation. Parts, at least, have every appearance of belonging to that stage of the history and to no other; when they were still beyond the Jordan, when the institutions of the conquest and the monarchy were still undeveloped. And, if the features of the earlier law are from time to time transfigured with a softer and a more spiritual light, this change, whilst it may have received some touches from the later spirit of the great Prophetic age, yet is also in close

Deuteronomy.

unintelligible to the East, of *Italy*, well illustrates the difference between Prophecy as it appears in the Bible, and as it appears in the theories of later ages. See Lecture XX.

[1] Josephus amplifies the single word of the Biblical narrative into another elaborate embassy to the Euphrates.—*Ant.* iv. 6, § 5—8.

[2] Numb. xxxi. 8, 16.

[3] At the time of the Christian era, and probably long afterwards, the account of the death and burial of Moses was supposed to have been written by himself as a prediction. (Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8, § 48; Phil. *V. M.* iii. 39.) This hypothesis is worth recording as an example of interpretation now entirely superseded.

harmony — it may be, dramatic harmony — with the soothing and widening process which belongs to the old age, not merely of every nation, but of every individual. Deuteronomy has been sometimes said to be to the earlier books of the Law, as the Fourth Gospel to the earlier Three. The comparison may hold good in regard no less to the actual advance in the character of Moses the Lawgiver and Moses the expiring Prophet, and the character of the Son of Thunder and the aged Evangelist.

In this last representation of Moses, one feature is brought out more forcibly than ever before. The poetic utterances, regarded as an indispensable accompaniment of the prophetic gift, now come forth in full strength; the *vox cycnea* of the departing seer.

The two Songs of Moses.

Two of these, at least in their general conception, belong exclusively to this epoch, the Eve of the Conquest: the Song of battle and of warning by which Joshua was to be cheered, and the Blessing, it might almost be said the war-cry, of the several tribes. In some minute points, also, we seem to trace the feeling of this particular crisis of the history. The name by which, in the Song of Moses, the God of Israel is called, must, in the first instance, have been suggested by the Desert-wanderings, — "*The Rock.*" Nine times in the course of this single Hymn is repeated this most expressive figure, taken from the granite crags of Sinai, and carried thence, through psalms and hymns of all nations, like one of the huge fragments which it represents, to regions as remote in aspect as in distance, from its original birthplace. If "The Rock" carries us back to the desert, the pastoral riches to which the Song refers confine us to the eastern bank of the Jordan. "The butter of kine, and milk "of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, "and goats, with the fat of kidneys of [1] wheat." It would

[1] Deut. xxxii. 13, 14.

be too bold to say that these words could not have occurred to any one in Western Palestine; but they are so far more appropriate to the Eastern downs and forests, that we may fairly see in them a stamp of that peculiar locality.

The Prayer or Psalm of Moses.

The third hymn, which, by its title, belongs to this period, is of far more universal interest. [1] "The Prayer of Moses the man of God" contrasts the fleeting generations of man with the mountains at whose feet they wandered, and the eternity of Him who existed "before ever those mountains were brought forth," has become the funeral hymn of the world, and is evidently intended to be treated as the funeral hymn of the Prophet himself. The most recent criticism, whilst hesitating to receive it as actually the composition of Moses, rejoices to see in it his spirit throughout. "The "Psalm has something in it unusually arresting, solemn, and "sinking deep into the depths of the Divinity. Moses might "well have been seized by these awful thoughts at the close "of his wanderings, and the author, whoever he be, is "clearly a man grown grey with vast experience, who here "takes his stand at the end of his earthly [2] course."

The last view from Pisgah.

The end was at last come. It might still have seemed that a triumphant close was in store for the aged Prophet. "His eye was not dim nor his natural force abated." He had led his people to victory against the Amorite kings; he might still be expected to lead them over into the land of Canaan. But so it was not to be. From the desert plains of Moab he went up to the same lofty range, whence Balaam had looked over the same prospect. The same, but seen with eyes how different! The view of Balaam has been long forgotten; but the view of Moses has become the proverbial view of all time. It was the peak dedicated to Nebo on which he stood. "He lifted up his eyes "westward, and northward, and southward, and [3] eastward."

[1] Ps. xc. [2] Ewald, *Psalmen*, 91. [3] Deut. iii. 27.

Beneath him lay the tents of Israel ready for the march; and "over against" them, distinctly visible in its grove of palm trees, the stately Jericho, key of the Land of Promise. Beyond was spread out the whole range of the mountains of Palestine, in its fourfold masses; "all Gilead," with Hermon and Lebanon in the east and north; the hills of Galilee, overhanging the Lake of Gennesareth; the wide opening where lay the plain of Esdraelon, the future battle-field of the nations; the rounded summits of Ebal and Gerizim; immediately in front of him the hills of Judæa, and, amidst them, seen distinctly through the rents in their rocky walls, Bethlehem on its narrow ridge, and the invincible fortress of Jebus. To him, so far as we know, the charm of that view—pronounced by the few modern travellers who have seen it to be unequalled of its kind—lay in the assurance that this was the land promised to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and to their seed, the inheritance—with all its varied features of rock and pasture, and forest and desert—for the sake of which he had borne so many years of toil and danger, in the midst of which the fortunes of his people would be unfolded worthily of that great beginning. To us, as we place ourselves by his side, the view swells into colossal proportions, as we think how the proud city of palm trees is to fall before the hosts of Israel; how the spear of Joshua is to be planted on height after height of those hostile mountains; what series of events, wonderful beyond any that had been witnessed in Egypt or in Sinai, would in after ages be enacted on the narrow crest of Bethlehem, in the deep basin of the Galilean lake, beneath the walls of "Jebus, "which is Jerusalem."

All this he saw. He "saw it with his eyes, but he was "not to go over thither." It was his last view. From that height he came down no more. Jewish, Mussulman, and Christian traditions crowd in to fill up the blank. "Amidst

"the tears of the people, the women beating their breasts "and the children giving way to uncontrolled wailing, he "withdrew. At a certain point in his ascent he made a sign "to the weeping multitude to advance no further, taking "with him only the elders, the high priest Eliezer, and the "general Joshua. At the top of the mountain he dismissed "the elders, and then, as he was embracing Eliezer and "Joshua, and still speaking to them, a cloud suddenly stood "over him, and he vanished in a deep valley." So spoke the tradition as preserved in the language, here unusually pathetic, of Josephus. Other wilder stories told of the Divine kiss which drew forth his expiring spirit; others of the [1] "Ascension of Moses" amidst the contention of good and evil spirits over his body. The Mussulmans, regardless of the actual scene of his death, have raised to him a tomb on the western side of the Jordan, frequented by thousands of Mussulman devotees. But the silence of the Sacred narrative refuses to be broken. "In" that strange land, "the "land of Moab, Moses the servant of the Lord died according "to the word of the Lord." "He buried him in 'a ravine' "in the land of Moab, over against the idol temple of Peor." Apart from his countrymen, honoured by no funeral obsequies, visited by no grateful pilgrimages, "no man knoweth "of his sepulchre unto this day."

The grave of Moses.

Two impressive truths are involved in this representation of the death of Moses, truths which hardly occur again with equal force in the history till we meet them again in the end of Him, of whom, in the New Testament, Moses is so often made the illustration and likeness. First, the mystery, the uncertainty, which overhangs the burial-place of the greatest character of the Jewish Church, is a sample of the general feeling with which these local sanctuaries were regarded. Doubtless, as in the case of the Patriarchal sepul-

[1] Jude 9. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep.* i. 839–846.

chres at Hebron, and the royal sepulchres at Jerusalem, the natural instinct of reverence for the tombs of the illustrious dead, often asserted its own rights. But, as if to show that this is a secondary and not a primary element of religious sentiment, when we come to the highest cases of all, the grave on Mount Nebo, the grave on Golgotha, the darkness closes upon the sacred spot: "no man knoweth of his sepulchre until this day."

The End of Moses.

Secondly, the scene on Pisgah is at once the fitting end of the life of Moses, and the exemplification of a general law. In one sense it might seem mournful, incomplete, disappointing; but in another and higher sense, how fully in accordance with his whole career, how truly the crowning point of his life!

The personal characteristics of the Prophet are too faintly drawn to admit of any fuller delineation. But one feature is indisputably marked out. No modern word seems exactly to correspond to that which our translators have rendered "the meekest of men," — but which rather expresses "enduring," "afflicted," "heedless of self." This at any rate is the trait most strongly impressed on all his actions from first to last. So in Egypt he threw himself into the thankless cause of his oppressed brethren; at his earliest call he prayed that Aaron might be the leader instead of himself; at Sinai he besought that his name might be blotted out if only his people might be spared; in the desert, he wished that not only he, but all the Lord's people might prophesy. He founded no dynasty; his own sons were left in deep obscurity; his successor was taken from the rival tribe of Ephraim. He himself receives for once the regal title "the King[1] in Jeshurun;" but the title dies with him. It is as the highest type and concentration of this endurance and self-abnegation, that the last view from Pisgah receives its chief instruction.

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 5.

To labour and not to see the end of our labours; to sow and not to reap; to be removed from this earthly scene before our work has been appreciated, and when it will be carried on not by ourselves, but by others, — is a law so common in the highest characters of history, that none can be said to be altogether exempt from its operation. It is true in intellectual matters as well as in spiritual; and one of the finest applications of any passage in the Mosaic history, is that made by Cowley, and extended by Lord Macaulay to the great English philosopher, who —

> "Did on the very border stand
> Of the blessed Promised Land;
> And from the mountain's top of his exalted wit
> Saw it himself, and show'd us it;
> But life did never to one man allow
> Time to discover worlds and conquer too."

"In the first book of the *Novum Organum* we see the "great Lawgiver looking round from his lonely elevation on "an infinite expanse; behind him a wilderness of dreary "sands and bitter waters, in which successive generations "have sojourned, always moving, yet never advancing, reap- "ing no harvest and building no abiding city: before him a "goodly land, a land of promise, a land flowing with milk "and honey. While the multitude below saw only the flat "sterile desert in which they had so long wandered, bounded "on every side by a near horizon, or diversified only by "some deceitful mirage, he was gazing from a far higher "stand, on a far lovelier country, following with his eye the "long course of fertilising rivers, through ample pastures, "and under the bridges of great capitals, measuring the dis- "tances of marts and barns, and portioning out all those "wealthy regions from Dan to[1] Beersheba."

The imagery thus nobly used to describe the promise and

[1] Macaulay's Essays, p. 413.

the self-denial of intellectual labour, is still more true of the many reformers, martyrs, and missionaries, John Huss, Tyndale, Francis Xavier, Howard, who, in all times of the Church, have died on the threshold of their reward, in hope, not in possession. Events have moved too slow, and the generation passes away which should have supported the saint or the chief; or events have moved too fast, and the rising generation has superseded the want of a leader; or a word has been spoken unadvisedly with his lips, and his prospects are suddenly overcast; or he is struck by decay of power, or by sudden, untimely death; again and again the Moses of the Church, of the commonwealth, lingers there, "dies there "in the land of Moab, and goes not over to possess that good "land;" and Canaan is won, not by the first and greatest of the nation, but by his subordinate minister and successor, Joshua the son of Nun.

THE CONQUEST OF PALESTINE.

IX. THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST OF THE JORDAN.

X. THE CONQUEST OF WESTERN PALESTINE.—THE FALL OF JERICHO AND AI.

XI. THE CONQUEST OF WESTERN PALESTINE.—THE BATTLE OF BETH-HORON.

XII. THE CONQUEST OF WESTERN PALESTINE.—THE BATTLE OF MEROM, AND SETTLEMENT OF THE TRIBES.

THE AUTHORITIES FOR THIS PART OF THE HISTORY.

1. (1.) Num. xxi. 21-35; xxv., xxxi., xxxii., xxxiv.; Deut. ii. 9; iii. 20; iv. 41-49; xxix. 6, 7; Joshua i.–xxiv. Judg. i. 1–36; xi. 15–26; xviii. 1–31; 1 Chron. ii. 20–24. (2.) Ps. xliv. 1-4; lxxviii. 55; cxiv. 3, 5; cxxxvi. 17-22; Ecclus. xlvi. 1-12. (3.) The Characteristics of the tribes, Gen. xlix.; Deut. xxxiii.

2. Jewish traditions. (1.) Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 5, 6, 7; v. 1. (2.) Rabbinical legends, in Otho's *Lex. rabbin.* 332; Fabricius' *Codex pseudepigraph. Vet. Test.* 871-873. (*a.*) Joshua's Prayer. (*b.*) Joshua's Ten Decrees. (3.) Philo, *De Caritate.* (4.) Samaritan Book of Joshua, edited by Juynboll, 1848. [It was written in Arabic — probably in the 12th century — in Egypt, and is chiefly valuable as representing the traditions and feelings of the Samaritan community:]

3. Heathen traditions, mentioned by Suidas (*sub voce* Χανάαν), Moses Choren. (*Hist. Arm.* i. 18); Procopius (*Bell. Vand.* ii. 4.)

THE CONQUEST OF PALESTINE.

LECTURE IX.

THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST OF THE JORDAN.

"THE Conquest of Palestine" introduces us to one of the most secular portions of the Sacred history. The very phrase is to some minds an offence. It suggests the likeness of other conquests. It compels us to regard the geography, the battles, the settlement of Israel, as we should consider the like circumstances in other countries. Such an offence is, to a certain degree, inevitable. But this stage of the history, secular as it is, presents also a religious aspect, on which, according to the plan of these Lectures, it will be my object to lay the chief stress, though not to the omission of those general considerations which here, as in other ecclesiastical history, are necessary to the understanding of the purely religious incidents intertwined with them. The Conquest.

The period of the Conquest, properly speaking, commences before the time of Joshua and extends far beyond it. It began from the passage of the brook Zered under Moses: it was not finally closed till the capture of Jerusalem by David. But, in a more limited sense, it may be confined to the period during which the territory, afterwards known by the name of Palestine, was definitively occupied as their own by the Israelites. This divides itself into two stages: the first, including the occupation of the district east of the Jordan; the second, and Its stages.

most important, including the occupation of Western Palestine in its three great divisions, the valley of the Jordan, the southern and central mountains afterwards known as Judæa and Samaria, and the northern mountains afterwards known as Galilee.

The Israelite conquest of Palestine, although it stands above all other like events from its intrinsic grandeur, yet is in itself but one amongst a succession of waves which have swept over the country, and each of which may be used as an illustration of those that have gone before and after. The Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Arabians, Turks, Crusaders, French, English, have followed in their wake; the Philistines, the Canaanites, the aboriginal inhabitants, accompanied or preceded them.

The early inhabitants of Western Palestine.

It is of these earlier conquests alone that we need here speak. The aboriginal inhabitants have [1] already been briefly described. They belonged so entirely to the dim distance, that their name, "Rephaim," was used in after times to designate the huge guardians or the shadowy [2] ghosts of the world below. But we can just discern their forms before they vanish, and some remnants of them lingered till later times. Their lofty stature is often noticed. It is possible that this impression may be partly derived from the contrast between them and the diminutive Hebrews, in like manner as a similar description, from the like contrast between the northern races of Europe and the small limbs and features of the Italians, is given, by Roman historians and poets, of the gigantic Gauls. On the west of the Jordan this race appears chiefly under two names; the "Anakim" in the southern mountains, and the "Avites" on the [3] maritime plain. The centre of the race of Anak was, as we have seen,

[1] Lecture II.

[2] See Gesenius, *in voce;* Ps. lxxxviii. 10; Prov. ii. 18; ix. 18; xxi. 16; Isa. xxvi. 14, 19.

[3] Deut. ii. 21, 23.

PALESTINE BEFORE THE CONQUEST

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Hebron or Kirjath-Arba. The Avites, it would seem, were still comparatively secure in their western corner. Their conquerors, the [1] Philistines, had not yet appeared; at least not in any overwhelming force. But in all the rest of Palestine, already in the Patriarchal age the "ancient solitary reign" of these aboriginal tribes had been disturbed by the appearance here and there of powerful chiefs belonging to the Phœnician or Canaanite branch of the Semitic race. The variations in the usage of the words, sometimes the variations of the text, prevent us from accurately fixing the mutual relations of the several Canaanite tribes to each other. Thus much, however, is clear.[2] The [3] Canaanites, or "Lowlanders," properly so called, occupied the sea-coast as far south as Dor, a considerable portion of the plain of Esdraelon, and some spots in the valley of the Jordan. The Amorites, or mountaineers, occupied the central and southern hills with the Hittites and Hivites. Of these intruders, the Amorites seem to have been the most ancient and the most warlike, perhaps allied to the [4] old gigantic race with which from time to time they appear in connexion. The Hittites belong to the more peaceful occupants, and their name is that by which Palestine in these early ages was chiefly known in foreign countries. The Hivites, like the Phœnicians of the north, inclined to a more regular form of political organisation. Of the lesser subdivisions, the Jebusites are attached to the Amorites, the Perizzites to the Hittites, and the Girgashites to the Hivites.

The Canaanites.

If, from the bare enumeration of names and geographical situations, we pass to the outward appearance, or the moral and social condition of the inhabitants of Syria, when the Israelites broke in upon them, the task is far more difficult. They

[1] See Lecture XVI.

[2] The most exact account of the relations of these tribes is in Num. xiii. 29; and compare, throughout, Ewald. i. 301—342.

[3] Deut. i. 7.

[4] Deut. iv. 47; xxxi. 4; Jos. ix. 10; Amos ii. 9.

seem to rise before us only to vanish away. Hardly a dying word escapes. The Sacred historian turns away as if in silent aversion. Yet the picture, which from the Israelite point of view is so dark and shadowy, receives a sudden light from a quarter then unknown and unthought of. It is startling to be reminded that "Canaanite" is but another name[1] for "Phœnician"; that the detested and accursed race, as it appears in the Books of Joshua and Judges, is the same as that to which from Greece we look back as the parent of letters, of commerce, of civilisation. The Septuagint translators wavered between preserving the original Hebrew word, or adopting the name of "Phœnician," as already recognised by the Greek language. Had they chosen in all cases, as they have in [2] some, the latter of these two alternatives, it is curious to reflect how essentially our ideas of the ancient inhabitants of Palestine might have been modified. Yet, in fact, the illustrations of the Phœnician or Canaanite history from Gentile sources coincide substantially with what we learn from the Jewish annals. In both, we see the same dusky [3] complexion of the race, distinguished alike from the western Greeks and the eastern Israelites. In both, we track them advancing into Palestine from the [4] extreme south. In both, the coexistence, side by side, of monarchical, [5] federal, and aristocratic institutions can be traced. In both, their general equality, if not superiority, in social arts to the surrounding nations and to the Israelites themselves, is acknowledged. They are in possession of fortified towns, treasures of brass, iron, gold, and foreign merchandise. They, no less than the Egyptians and Israelites, retain the mark of an

The Phœnicians or Canaanites.

[1] For the name of "Canaanite" as coextensive with "Phœnician," see Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, 42, 52.

[2] The word is so translated by the LXX. in Ex. xvi. 35; Josh. v. 1.

[3] For the dark colour of the race see the arguments adduced both from Gen. x. 7, and from Strabo, xii. 144, in Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, 50, 52.

[4] Kenrick, 50.

[5] See Ewald, ii. 337, and Lecture XV.

ancient sacred [1] civilisation in the rite of circumcision. And in both accounts, their religious rites are described in the same terms, — human sacrifices, licentious orgies, the worship of a host of divinities. But the difference between the two representations, which has, in fact, almost blinded us to the fact of the identity of the nation described by the two authorities, is more instructive than their likeness. The Israelite version, on the one hand, we must freely grant, takes no heed of the nobler aspect which this great people presented to the Western world; or, at least, not till the wider prophetic view of Isaiah and Ezekiel comprehended within the sympathy of the Jewish Church the grander elements of Sidonian power and Tyrian splendour. But, on the other hand, the Gentile accounts are insensible to the cruel, debasing, and nameless sins which turned the heart of the Israelite sick, in the worship of Baal, Astarte, and Moloch. It is true that these are but the same divinities, whom we regard leniently, if not indulgently, when we find them in the forms of Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, Hercules, Adonis. But the other phase is not to be forgotten; and when [2] Milton took these names of Syrian idols to represent the evil spirits of Pandemonium, and thus renewed, as it were, to them a lease of existence which seemed long since to have died out, he did but place us, though but for a moment, in the condition of the soldiers of the first conquest of Palestine, to whom Beelzebub and Moloch were living powers of evil, as hateful as though they actually personified the principles with which he has identified them. The bright side of Polytheism is so familiar to us in the

[1] The argument from the exceptional case of the Philistines, 1 Sam. xviii. 25–27; 2 Sam. i. 20, combined with the historical statement in Herod. ii. 104, is convincing. From Gen. xxxiv. 15, it would appear that the early Shechemites were not circumcised.

[2] "Before Milton, if Moloch, Belial, Mammon, &c., were not absolutely unknown to history, they had no proper and distinct poetic existence." Milman's *Latin Christianity*, book xiv. ch. 2.

mythology of Greece, that it is well to be recalled for a time to its dark side in Palestine.

Conquest of Eastern Palestine.

From the general consideration of the Conquest, we turn to the first stage of it in the territory east of the Jordan,—that mysterious eastern frontier of the Holy Land, so beautiful, so romantic, so little known, whether we look at it through the distant glimpses and hasty surveys of it obtained by modern travellers, or the scanty notices of its first conquest in the Book of Numbers.

On the Eastern side of the Jordan valley two fragments of the aboriginal race had [1]existed under the name of "Emim," and "Zamzummim" or "Zuzim." These old inhabitants had been expelled by the kindred tribes of Moab and Ammon. But they in turn had, just before the point of the history at which we have now arrived, been dispossessed by two Canaanite chiefs of a considerable portion of the territory which they had themselves acquired.

On this motley ground the Israelites appeared in the double light of conquerors and deliverers. The story is briefly told; but its main features are discernible, and it illustrates in many points the greater conquest for which it prepared the way.

The attack on the two Canaanite kings was assisted by a strange visitation which had just befallen the Transjordanic territory. Immense swarms of hornets, [2]always common in Palestine, [3]burst upon the country with unusual force. The chiefs were thus probably driven out of their fastnesses, and forced into the plain, where the final conflict took place.

Sihon, King of Heshbon.

The first onslaught was upon Sihon. He occupied the whole district between the Arnon and Jabbok, through which the approach to the Jordan lay. He had wrested it

[1] Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 10, 20.

[2] Deut. i. 44; Ps. cxviii. 12, and the name of Zoreah (=hornet) Josh. xv. 33. These passages make a literal acceptation of the texts above cited the most natural. See Mr. Cyril Graham's "Ancient Bashan" in *Cambridge Essays*, 147.

[3] Ex. xxxiii. 28; Deut. vii. 21; Josh. xxiv. 12; Wisd. xii. 18.

from the predecessor of Balak, and had established himself, not in the ancient capital of Moab—Ar, but in the city, still conspicuous to the modern traveller from its wide prospect and its cluster of stone pines—Heshbon. The recollection of his victory survived in a savage war[1] song, which passed into a kind of proverb in after times:—

"Come home to Heshbon;
Let the city of Sihon be built and prepared,
For there is gone out a fire from Heshbon,
A flame from the city of Sihon.
It hath consumed Ar of Moab,
And the lords of the high places of Arnon:
Woe to thee, Moab: thou art undone, thou people of Chemosh!
He hath given his sons that escaped, and his daughters, into captivity
To the King of the Amorites, Sihon."

Battle of Jahaz.

The decisive battle between Sihon and his new foes took place at Jahaz, probably on the confines of the rich pastures of Moab and the desert whence the Israelites emerged. It was the first engagement in which they were confronted with the future enemies of their nation. The slingers and archers of Israel, afterwards so renowned, now first showed their skill. Sihon fell; the army[2] fled (so ran the later tradition), and, devoured by thirst, like the Athenians in the Assinarus, on their flight from Syracuse, were slaughtered in the bed of one of the mountain streams. The memory of this battle was cherished in triumphant strains, in which, after reciting in bitter irony, the song, just quoted, of the Amorites' triumph, they broke out into an exulting contrast of the past greatness of the defeated chief and his present fall:—

"We have shot at them: Heshbon is perished:
We have laid them waste: even unto Nophah:
With[3] fire: even unto Medeba."

[1] Numb. xxi. 27—29 repeated, as if well known, in Jer. xlviii. 45, 46.
[2] Jos. *Ant.* iv. 5, § 2.
[3] Numb. xxi. 30 (LXX.).

Defeat of Midian.

Subject to Sihon, as [1]vassals, were five Arabian chiefs, of the great tribe of Midian. Their names are [2]preserved to us, — Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba. It was they who, doubtless terrified at the fall of their sovereign, persuaded the King of Moab to rid himself of the dangerous, though at first welcome intruders, by the curse of Balaam. When this failed, and when the more sure and fatal ruin of the contagion of the licentious rites of Midian provoked the religious and moral feeling of the better spirits of the nation to that terrible retribution of which the later conquest was one long exemplification, a sacred war was proclaimed. It was headed, not by the soldier Joshua, but by the Priest Phinehas. The Ark went with the host. The sacred trumpets were blown. The chiefs of Midian were [3]slain: the great prophet of the East fell [4]with them. Their [5]stone enclosures were [6]taken. Their pastoral wealth fell to their conquerors, as in the case of the second great defeat of their tribe achieved by [7]Gideon — ornaments of gold, and thousands of oxen, sheep, and asses. And then took place the first wholesale [8]extermination of a conquered tribe.

Og, King of Bashan.

The way was now clear to the Jordan. But the career of conquest opened on its eastern bank was not easily closed. It is possible that the thought of pushing forward in this direction was suggested to them by the neighbouring and kindred tribe of Ammon, "too strong" to be subdued, and even more interested than themselves in the expulsion of the second Canaanite chief, who had occupied the territory north

[1] The word translated "dukes," Josh. xiii. 21. Comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 11, where the same word is used of the Midianite chiefs Oreb and Zeeb. They are called "kings," Numb. xxxi. 8; "princes," Josh. xiii. 21; "elders," Numb. xxii. 4.

[2] Numb. xxxi. 8.

[3] *Ibid.* 6, 7, 8.

[4] In the Samaritan Joshua (ch. 8), he is dragged out of the temple by Joshua, who wishes to spare him; but the fierce Simeonites insist on his being put to death, lest he should fascinate them by his spells.

[5] Translated "castles" in Gen. xxv. 16.

[6] Numb. xxxi. 10.

[7] Judg. viii. 26; Num. xxxi. 36, 37—39.

[8] See Lecture XI.

of Ammon, apparently at the same time that Sihon had occupied the territory east of Moab.

This was Og, king of the district which, under the name of Bashan, extended from the Jabbok up to the base of Hermon. There is no direct notice, as in the case of Sihon, of his having invaded the country, and this omission, combined with the mention of his gigantic stature, warrants the conjecture that he was one of the leaders of the aboriginal race, for which Bashan had always been renowned.

In this joint expedition of Israel and Ammon, the commanders were two heroes of the tribe of Manasseh, [1] Jair and Nobah.

Battle of Edrei.

The fastness of Og was the remarkable circular district formerly known by the name of Argob, or the "stony," rendered by the Greeks "Trachonitis;" or Chebel, "rope," as if from the marked character of its [2] boundary, rendered by the corresponding Arabic word "Leja." It is described as suddenly rising from the fertile plain, an island of basalt: its rocky desolation, its vast fissures, more resembling the features of some portions of the moon, than any formation on the earth.[a] At the entrance of this fastness, as if in the Thermopylæ of the kingdom, is Edrei. Here Og met the [3] invaders. The battle was lost, and Bashan fell. Ashtaroth-Karnaim, the sanctuary of the [4] Horned Astarte, and perhaps the same as the capital Kenath, surrendered. It had been already the scene of a signal defeat in still more primitive times, when the aboriginal inhabitants were attacked by the Assyrian invaders from the East.[b]

[1] In Numb. xxxii. 39—42, Josh. xvii. 1, "Machir" is mentioned, but it would seem that this (like Judah and Simeon in Judg. i. 17) is a personification of the tribe.

[2] See Article "Argob," *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 42.

[3] Num. xxi. 33. Mr. Cyril Graham in *Cambridge Essays*, i. 145.—Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 220.

[4] Figures and coins with a crescent have been found at Kenath.—Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 106—114.

[5] Gen. xiv. 5.

Settlement of Bashan.

The Ammonites[1] carried off as their trophy the "iron bedstead" (perhaps the basaltic coffin, like that of Esmunazar recently found at Sidon) of the gigantic Og. The Israelites occupied the whole country, remarkable even then for its sixty[2] cities, strongly walled and fortified. Here, as throughout the Transjordanic territory, the native names were altered, and new titles imposed by the Israelites, as if at once determined on making a permanent settlement. The basaltic character of the country lent itself to these cities, as naturally as the limestone of Palestine and sandstone of Edom opened into habitations in holes and caves. The country which thus fell into their hands was that known by the name of Gilead—a name which it never lost, and which outlived and superseded the divisions of the three conquering tribes. The two Israelite chiefs took, as it would seem, different portions. Jair[3] occupied the more pastoral part, and founded thirty nomadic villages, called after his name, "the [4]villages of Jair." Nobah took possession of Kenath, the capital, of which he must have been the captor, and to this he also gave his name, though the old one, as so often in Syria, returned.

Jair.

Of these two chiefs we know but little more. It is possible that Jair is the same as the stately head[5] of a vast family mentioned amongst the Judges. His name lingered down to the time of the Christian era; when, in the same region as that which he conquered, we find "a ruler of the synagogue named Jair," "whose daughter[6] was at the point of death."

[1] Deut. iii. 3—11.

[2] Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 196, 206. Graham in *Cambridge Essays*, 160. Lengerke's *Kenaan*, 392. I do not pretend to pronounce an opinion on the age of the cities as thus described. But their existence unquestionably illustrates those mentioned in Deut. iii. 4, 5.

[3] Jair was in some way allied with the family of Caleb, 1 Chron. ii. 23; but the statement is too confused to furnish any basis of additional information.

[4] Num. xxxii. 41; Jos. xiii. 30; Ewald, ii. 298.

[5] Judg. x 3–5.

[6] Luke viii. 41.

Nobah occurs no where else in the Hebrew Scriptures. But a certain grandeur must have attached to his career to cause his selection as the representative of the Transjordanic tribes in the Samaritan Book of [1] Joshua. There, under the name of *Nabih*, he receives from Joshua the solemn investiture of royalty over the Eastern tribes, and sits in state, clothed in green, on his throne of judgment. The portion of the Manassite tribe which he represented, and which lay beyond the limits of Gilead, must have furnished the more civilised and settled part of the Transjordanic population, which dwelt in the walled cities left by the expelled Canaanites. Nobah.

Whether the settlement of the Eastern territory of Palestine was accomplished, as the Book of Numbers would lead us to infer, within a few months, or, as the Books of Joshua and Judges would imply, in a period extending over many years, must be left uncertain. But the causes which led to it are natural in themselves, and are expressly pointed out in the Biblical narrative. The Transjordanic territory was the forest-land, the pasture-land of Palestine. The smooth downs received a special name, [2] "Mishor," expressive of their contrast with the rough and rocky soil of the west. The "oaks" of Bashan, which still fill the traveller with admiration, were to the prophets and psalmists of Israel the chief glory of the vegetation of their common country. The vast herds of wild cattle which then wandered through the woods, as those of Scotland through its ancient forests, were, in like manner, at once the terror and pride of the Israelite, —"the fat bulls of Bashan." The King of Moab was but a great "sheep-master," and "rendered" for tribute "an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams with "the wool." And still the countless herds and flocks may Causes of the settlement. Natural features of the Transjordanic district.

[1] Chap. 12, 24. [2] *Sinai and Palestine*, App. § 6.

be seen, droves of cattle moving on like troops of soldiers, descending at sunset to drink of the springs — literally, in the language of the Prophet, "rams and lambs, and goats, "and bullocks, all of them fatlings of Bashan."

In the encampment of Israel, two tribes, Reuben and Gad, were pre-eminently nomadic. They had "a very great "multitude of cattle." For this they desired the land, and for this it was given to them, "that they might build cities "for their little ones, and *folds for* [1] *their sheep.*" In no other case is the relation between the territory and its occupiers so expressly laid down, and such it continued to be to the end. From first to last they alone of the tribes never emerged from the state of their Patriarchal ancestors. Gad and Reuben accordingly divided the kingdom of Sihon between them, that is, the territory between the Arnon and the Jabbok, and the eastern side of the Jordan valley up to the Lake of [2] Chinnereth, or Gennesareth.

Reuben was the more purely pastoral of the two, and therefore the more transitory. "Unstable as water," he vanishes away into a mere Arabian tribe; "his men [3] are "few;" it is all that he can do "to live and not die." The only events of their subsequent history are the multiplication of "their cattle in the land of Gilead;" their "wars" with the Bedouin "[4] sons of Hagar;" their spoils of "camels fifty thou- "sand, and of sheep two hundred and fifty thousand, and of "asses two thousand." In the chief struggles of the nation Reuben never took part. The complaint against him in the Song of Deborah is the summary of his whole history. "By "the 'streams' of [5] Reuben," that is, by the fresh streams which descend from the eastern hills into the Jordan and the Dead

[1] Num. xxxii. 16, 24.

[2] Josh. xiii. 15—28; Num. xxxii. 34—38. See Mr. Grove's article on GAD in *Dict. of the Bible.*

[3] Deut. xxxiii. 6. The English version, without any authority, adds the word "not."

[4] 1 Chr. v. 10.

[5] Judg. v. 15, 16.

Sea, on whose banks the Bedouin chiefs then, as now, met to debate. "By the 'streams' of Reuben great were the 'de-"bates.' Why dwellest thou among the sheep 'troughs' "to hear the 'pipings' of the flocks? By the 'streams' of "Reuben great were the searchings of heart."

Gad has a more distinctive character. In the forest region south of the Jabbok, "he [1]dwelt as a lion." Out of his tribe came the eleven valiant chiefs who crossed the fords of the Jordan in flood-time to join the outlawed David, "whose "faces were like the faces of [2]lions, and were as swift as the "'gazelles, upon the mountains." These heroes also were the Bedouins of their own time. The very name of Gad expressed the wild aspect which he presented to the wild tribes of the East. "Gad is 'a troop of [3]plunderers;' a troop of "plunderers shall 'plunder' him, but he shall 'plunder' at "the last." Gad.

The northern outposts of the eastern tribes were entrusted to that portion of Manasseh which had originally attacked and expelled the Amorite inhabitants from Gilead. The same martial spirit which fitted the western Manasseh to defend the passes of Esdraelon, fitted "Machir, the first born "of Manasseh, the father of Gilead," to defend the passes of Haurân and Anti-Libanus; "because he was a man of war, "therefore he had Gilead and Bashan." The pastoral character common to Gad and Reuben was shared, but in a much less degree, by these descendants of the ruling tribe of Joseph. Manasseh.

It is evident that with a country so congenial, and a geographical separation so complete, a disruption might be at once anticipated between these pastoral tribes and their western brethren, similar to that which some centuries later, from other causes, dismembered the monarchy of David.

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 20.
[2] 1 Chr. xii. 8—13.
[3] Gen. xlix. 19.

One of the most famous texts in the Bible is founded on the apprehension of this probable calamity, when Moses warned the Transjordanic tribes that they were bound to follow their brethren to assist in the conquest of Western Palestine. "If ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned "against the Lord: and *be sure your sin will* [1] *find you* "*out.*" How it would have found them out, we can see from the fate of Reuben. The nearest actual approach to a breach was on the return of the Eastern tribes after the western conquest, when their simple pastoral monument of stones was mistaken by the other tribes for an altar. It was put up, apparently, by Bohan the Reubenite, and called after his name, between the fords and the mouth of the [2] Jordan. They [3] were pursued by Phinehas, ready for another sacred war, like that in which he had destroyed the Midianites. The whole transaction is an instance of what has often occurred afterwards in ecclesiastical history. What was meant innocently, though, perhaps, without due regard for the consequences, is taken for a conspiracy, a rebellion, an attempt to overthrow the faith. There are always theologians keen-sighted to see heresy in the simplest orthodoxy, and superstition in the most harmless ceremony. There have been places, where it has been impossible, without incurring dangerous suspicions of idolatry, to mention the Cross of Christ. There have been those, from the first ages of the Church downwards, before whom it has been impossible, without incurring dangerous suspicions of Atheism, even to profess the Christian religion. The solution of the controversy between the two pastoral eastern tribes and their western brethren in the Jewish Church is one which might have saved the schism of the

Controversy between the eastern and western tribes.

[1] Num. xxxii. 23. In the LXX. "Ye shall know your sin when it finds you out." Amongst the many sermons which have been published on this text, I cannot forbear to refer to one of remarkable excellence by the late Rev. J. H. Gurney.

[2] Josh. xv. 6, xxii. 11.

[3] Josh. xxii. 13.

Eastern Church from the Western, and have prevented many bitter controversies and persecutions in all Churches.

On the one hand, the Reubenites and their companions said: "The Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods, "He knoweth, and Israel he shall know. If it be in rebel- "lion, or if in transgression against the Lord, save us not "this day."[1] It is a text invested with a mournful interest— for it is that on which Welsh, the minister of the army of the Covenanters, preached before the Battle of Bothwell Bridge. Whether or not it was sincerely used in that latter application, on this, its first occasion, it truly expressed the absence of any sinister intention, and it was accepted as such even by the fierce, uncompromising Phinehas. "This "day we perceive that the Lord is among us, because ye have "not committed this trespass against the Lord: now ye have "delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of the Lord." He did not push matters to extremities — he was thankful to have been spared the great crime of attacking as a moral sin what was only an error (if so be) of judgment. Alas! how seldom in the history of religious divisions have thanks been returned for a deliverance from a crime which many religious leaders have regarded as a duty and a blessing.

Its intention.

The Eastern tribes returned to their distant homes. Their reward was that, in after ages, slight as the connexion might be with the rest of the nation, it was never entirely broken.

One reminiscence of this connexion is preserved in a splendid legend of the Samaritans. It records how, when at the close of his campaigns, Joshua was beset not merely with the armies, but with the enchantments, of the Canaanites and Persians, and imprisoned within a seven-fold wall of iron, a carrier pigeon conveyed the tidings of his situation to Nobah, who sprang from his judgment-seat, and, with a shout that rang to the ends of the universe, sum-

Legend of Nobah.

[1] Josh. xxii. 22.

moned his Transjordanic troops around him. They came in thousands. One band, clothed in white, rode on red horses. Another clothed in red, rode on white horses; a third in green, on black horses, a fourth in black, on spotted horses. Nobah himself rode at their head on a steed, beautiful as a panther, fleet as the winds. He approaches, under cover of a hurricane, which drives the birds to their nests, and the wild beasts to their lairs, and enters the plain of Esdraelon. The mother of the Canaanite king, like the mother of Sisera, or like the watchman on the walls of [1] Jezreel, goes up to the tower to worship the sun. She sees the advancing splendours, and she rushes down to announce to her son that "the "moon and the stars are rising from the East: woe to us, "if they be enemies! blessed are we, if they are friends!" A single combat takes place between Nobah and the Canaanite king, each armed with his mighty bow. At last the king falls — by the spring that gushed forth, "known "even to this day as the Spring of the Arrow." At Joshua's bidding, the priests within the seven iron walls blow their trumpets — the walls fall — the sun stands still, and the winds fly to his aid, and the horses of the conquerors plunge up to their [2] nostrils in the blood of the enemy.

This wild story points no doubt to the bond of union which in the great extremities of war was kept up between the two banks of the Jordan. The battle-cry of the Eastern portion of Manasseh seems to have extended to the whole tribe — "Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let him depart "from Mount [3] Gilead." But their usual relations belong to a more touching class of recollections and anticipations.

The East the refuge of the West.

Those Eastern hills were to the Western Israelites the land of exile, — the refuge of exiles. One place there was in its beautiful uplands consecrated by the presence of

[1] Judg. v. 28; 2 Kings, ix. 17.
[2] Samaritan Joshua, ch. 37.
[3] Judg. vii. 3. See Lecture XV.

God in primeval times. "Mahanaim" marked the spot where Jacob had divided his people into "two hosts," and seen the "Two Hosts" of the angelic [1]vision. To this scene of the great crisis in their ancestor's life the thoughts of his descendants returned in after-years, whenever foreign conquest or civil discord drove them from their native hills on the west of Jordan,—when Abner fled from the Philistines, when David fled from Absalom, when the Israelite captives lingered there on the way to Babylon, when David's greater Son found there a refuge from the busy world which filled Jerusalem and the Sea of Galilee, when the infant Christian Church of Palestine escaped to Pella from the armies of Titus. From these heights, one and all of these exiles must have caught the last glimpse of their familiar mountains. There is one plaintive strain which sums up all these feelings,—the 42nd Psalm. Its date and authorship are uncertain, but the place is beyond doubt the Transjordanic hills, which always behold, as they are always beheld from, Western Palestine. As, before the eyes of the exile, the "gazelle" of the forest of Gilead panted after the fresh streams of water which thence descend to the Jordan, so his soul panted after God, from whose outward presence he was shut out. The river, with its winding rapids, "deep calling to deep," lay between him and his home. All that he could now do was to remember the past, as he stood "in the land of Jordan," as he saw the peaks of "Hermon," as he found himself on the eastern heights of Mizar, which reminded him of his banishment and solitude. The Peræan hills are the "Pisgah" of the earlier history. To the later history they occupy the pathetic relation that has been immortalised in the name of the long ridge from which the first and the last view of

[1] See Lecture III.

Granada is obtained; they are "the Last Sigh" of the Israelite exile. In our own time, perhaps in all times of their history, they have furnished to the familiar scenes of Western Palestine a shadowy background, which imparts to the tamest features of the landscape a mysterious and romantic charm, a sense as of another world, to the dweller on this side of the dividing chasm almost inaccessible, yet always overhanging the distant view with a presence not to be put by. And with this thought there must have been blended, in large periods of the Jewish history, a feeling which has now long since died away — that from these Eastern mountains, and from the desert beyond them, would be the great Return of the scattered members of the race. "Mine own will I bring again from Bashan." "How beau-" tiful on the mountains [of the East] are the feet of him "that bringeth good tidings." — "Make straight in the "desert [beyond the Jordan] a highway for our God."[1]

[1] Ps. lxviii. 22; Isa. lii. 7; xl. 3.

LECTURE X.

THE CONQUEST OF WESTERN PALESTINE — THE FALL OF JERICHO.

THE Conquest of Eastern Palestine has been drawn out at length in the preceding Lecture, because, from the scanty and fragmentary notices of it in the narrative, we are in danger of losing sight altogether of a remarkable portion both of the Holy Land and of the Sacred history. But it is a true feeling which has caused the chief attention to be fixed on the conquest of the western rather than of the eastern shores of the Jordan, as the turning-point, in this stage, of the fortunes of the Jewish Church and nation.

Conquest of Western Palestine.

We have seen what the Eastern territory was,— how congenial to the nomadic habits of a hitherto pastoral people: a land in some respects so far superior, both in beauty and fertility, to the rugged mountains on the further side. "The Lord had made them ride on the high places of the "earth, that they might eat the increase of the fields; and "he made them to suck honey out of the 'cliff,' and oil "out of the flinty rock; butter of kine, and milk of sheep; "with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and "goats; with the fat of kidneys of wheat and . . . the "pure blood of the [1]grape." So, we are told, spoke their Prophet-leader, whilst they were still in enjoyment of this rich country. Yet forwards they went. It was the same high calling — whether we give it the name of destiny, or

[1] Deut. xxxii. 13, 14.

Providence—which had already drawn Abraham from Mesopotamia, and Moses from the court of Memphis. They knew not what was before them; they knew not what depended on their crossing the Jordan,—on their becoming a settled and agricultural, instead of a nomadic people,—on their reaching to the shores of the Mediterranean sea, and from those shores receiving the influences of the Western world, and sending forth to that Western world their influences in return. They knew not, but we know; and the more we hear of the beauty of the Transjordanic territory, the greater is the wonder—the greater, we may almost say, should be our thankfulness—that they exchanged it for Palestine itself; inferior as it might naturally have seemed to them, in every point, except for the high purposes to which they were called, and for which their permanent settlement on the eastern side of the Jordan would, humanly speaking, have wholly unfitted them.

It was to inaugurate this new era, of a dangerous present and a boundless future, that a new character appears on the scene. In the Eastern conquest, we have but faintly perceived the hands by which the victory was won, and the people guided. Moses, indeed, is still living; but his command in battle is hardly noticed. Of Jair and Nobah we know scarce anything but the names. The most remarkable leader of that transitional period, whose career overlaps also that on which we are now entering, is the famous son of the High Priest Eleazar, who in his [1]Egyptian name bore the last trace of their Egyptian sojourn. Phinehas, rather than his father, figures throughout this period as the leading member of the hierarchy. In the conflict with [2]Midian, in the dispute with the Reubenites, in the war with the [3]Benjamites, he is the chief oracle and adviser. On him is

Phinehas.

[1] Brugsch, *Egypt*, 174.

[2] See Lecture IX.

[3] See Lecture XIII.

pronounced the blessing which secured to his descendants the inheritance of the priesthood, as though up to that time the succession had been in uncertainty. He was long known as the ruler or commander of the Levite [1]guard, and as the type of indomitable zeal. In later Jewish traditions, he is supposed to have received, through the blessing upon his zeal, the gift of [2]immortality, and to have continued on the earth till he reappeared as Elijah; and thus, in Mussulman fancy, he claims, with Elijah, Jethro, and S. George, to be identified with the mysterious Wanderer, who goes to and [3]fro on the earth, to set right the wrong and to make clear the dark.

But the fierce Priest was not to be the successor of the first of the Prophets. It was from another tribe, and from another class of character, that Moses had chosen his constant companion, his ministering servant. Every great Prophet had such an attendant, and the attendant of Moses was Joshua the son of Nun. He, according to Jewish [4]tradition, was the bosom friend, the first example of pure and dear friendship in the Jewish Church; and to him, rather than to any hereditary kinsman, was the guidance of the nation entrusted. Joshua.

Never, in the history of the Chosen People, could there have been such a blank as that when they became conscious that "Moses the servant of the Lord was dead." He who had been their leader, their lawgiver, their oracle, as far back as their memory could reach, was taken from them at the very moment when they seemed most to need him. It was to fill up this blank that Joshua was called. The narrative labours to impress upon us the sense that the continuity of the nation and of its high purpose was not broken by the change of person and situation. "As I was with Moses, so "will I be with thee. I will not [5]fail thee, nor forsake thee."

[1] Num. xxv. 13; Ps. cvi. 30; 1 Chr. ix. 20.
[2] See Lecture VIII.
[3] Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep.* i. 893, 894.
[4] Philo, *De Caritate*, ii. 384, 385.
[5] Josh. i. 5.

There was, indeed, as yet, no hereditary or fixed succession. But the germ of that succession is better represented by the very contrast between Moses and Joshua, than in any other passage in the Sacred History.

"The voice that from the glory came,
To tell how Moses died unseen,
And waken Joshua's spear of flame
To victory on the mountains green,
Its trumpet tones are sounding still,
When kings or parents pass away;
They greet us with a cheering thrill
Of power or comfort in decay." [1]

His character.

The difference, indeed, was marked as strongly as possible. Joshua was the soldier,—the first soldier, consecrated by the Sacred history. He was not a teacher, not a [2]Prophet. He, one may say, hated the extension of Prophecy with a feeling which recalls a well-known saying of the great warrior of our own age. He could not restrain his indignation when he heard that there were two unauthorised prophesiers within the camp. "My [3]Lord Moses, forbid them." He was a simple, straightforward, undaunted soldier. His first appearance is in battle. "Choose out men, go out, fight with Amalek." [4] He is always known by his spear, or javelin, slung between his shoulders or stretched out in his hand.[5] The one quality which is required of him, and described in him, is that he was "very courageous." "He [6]was strong and of a good courage." "He was not afraid nor dismayed." He turned

[1] This poem in Keble's *Christian Year* is suggested by the Service for the Accession of the English Sovereigns, on which day this portion of the Book of Joshua is read. The whole poem well carries out the thought.

[2] In the Eastern Church Joshua is sometimes reckoned as a prophet. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1. § 4) seems to imply that he had an attendant prophet, through whom the divine commands were given to him. But this has no ground in the narrative, and the Mussulman traditions expressly exclude him from that rank. (Weil's *Biblical Legends*, p. 144.) It is probably on other grounds that the Book of Joshua is placed amongst the "Prophets" in the Jewish canon. See Lecture XIX.

[3] Num. xi. 28.

[4] Ex. xvii. 9.

[5] Josh. viii. 18, 26. It was the *chidon* or light javelin; see the article ARMS, in *Dict. of Bible*.

[6] Josh. i. 7, 9, 18.

neither to the right hand nor to the left; but at the head of the hosts of Israel he went right forward from Jordan to Jericho, from Jericho to Ai, from Ai to Gibeon, to Beth-horon, to Merom. He wavered not for a moment; he was here, he was there, he was everywhere, as the emergency called for him. He had no words of wisdom, except those which [1]shrewd common sense and public spirit dictated. To him the Divine Revelation was made not in the burning bush nor in the still small voice, but as "the Captain of the Lord's host, with a drawn sword in [2]his hand;" and that drawn and glittering sword was the vision which went before him through the land, till all the kings of Canaan were subdued beneath his feet.

His name.

It is not often, either in sacred or common history, that we are justified in pausing on anything so outward and (usually) so accidental as a name. But, if ever there be an exception, it is in the case of Joshua. In him it first appears with an appropriateness which the narrative describes as intentional. His original name, *Hoshea*, "salvation," is transformed into *Jehoshua*, or *Joshua*, "God's salvation;" and this, according to the modifications which Hebrew names underwent in their passage through the Greek language, took, in the later ages of the Jewish Church, sometimes the form of *Jason*, but more frequently that which has now become indelibly impressed upon history as the greatest of all names — JESUS.[3]

Slight as may be this connexion between the first and the last to whom this name was given with any religious significance, it demands our consideration for the sake of two points which are often overlooked, and which may in this relation catch the attention of those who might else overlook them altogether. One is the prominence into which it brings the

[1] See Lecture XII.

[2] Josh. v. 13.

[3] LXX. throughout, and, in the N. T., Acts vii. 45; Hebr. iv. 8.

true meaning of the sacred Name, as a deliverance, not from "imputed" or "future" or "unknown" dangers, but from enemies as real as the Canaanitish host. The first Joshua was to save his people from their actual foes. The Second was to "save His people from *their* [1]*sins*." Again, the career of Joshua gives a note of preparation for the singularly martial, soldierlike aspect — also often forgotten — under which his Namesake is at times set forth. The courage, the cheerfulness, the sense of victory and of success, which runs both through the actual history of the Gospels, and through the idealisation of it in "the Conqueror" of the writings of [2]S. John, finds its best illustration from the older church in the character and career of Joshua.

The Passage of the Jordan.

The first stage of Joshua's Conquest was the occupation of the vast trench, so to speak, which parted them from the mass of the Promised Land. Between it and them lay the deep valley of the Jordan with its mysterious river. "To "pass over the Jordan and go in and possess the land," was a crisis in their fate, such as they had not experienced since the crossing of the Red Sea.

The scene of the passage of the Jordan is presented to us in the Sacred narrative in a form so distinct, and at the same time so different from that which is usually set forth in pictures and allegories, that it shall here be given at length, so far as it can be made out from the several notices handed down to us, namely, the two separate accounts in the Book of [3]Joshua, further varied by the differences between the Received Text and the Septuagint, the narrative of Josephus, and the 114th Psalm.

For the first time they descended from the upper terraces

[1] Matt. i. 21.

[2] Not only in the Apocalypse (ii. 7, 11, 17, 26; iii. 5, 12, 21; v. 5; vi. 2; xi. 7; xii. 11; xiii. 7: xv. 2; xvii. 14; xxi. 7) but in the Gospel (John xvi. 33), and Epistles (1 John ii. 13, 14; iv. 4; v. 4, 5). "The Captain of our Salvation" (Heb. ii. 10) derives its martial sound only from the English, not from the original.

[3] Josh. iii. 3–17; iv. 1–24.

of the valley, they "removed from the acacia groves and came "to the Jordan and 'stayed the night' there before [1]they passed over."

It was probably at the point near the present southern fords, crossed at the time of the Christian era by a [2]bridge. The river was at its usual state of flood at the spring of the year, so as to fill the whole of the bed, up to the margin of the jungle with which the nearer banks are lined. On the broken edge of the swollen stream, the band of priests stood with the Ark on their shoulders. At the distance of nearly a mile in the rear was the mass of the army. Suddenly the full bed of the Jordan was dried before them. High up the river, "far, [3]far away," "in Adam, the city "which is beside [4]Zaretan," "as far as the parts of Kir-"jath-jearim," [5] that is, at a distance of thirty miles from the place of the Israelite encampment, "the waters there "stood which 'descended' 'from the heights above,'—stood "and rose up, as if gathered into a [6]waterskin; as if in a bar-"rier [7]or heap, as if [8]congealed; and those that 'descended' "towards the sea of 'the desert,' the salt sea, failed and were "cut off." Thus the scene presented is of the "descending "stream" (the words employed seem to have a special reference to that peculiar and most significant name of the "Jordan") not parted asunder, as we generally fancy, but, as the [9]Psalm expresses it, "turned backwards"; the whole

The river.

[1] Josh. iii. 1.

[2] So we may infer from Jos. *Ant.* v. i. 3.

[3] *μακρὰν σφοδρὰ σφοδρᾶς*, LXX; Josh. iii. 16.

[4] Josh. iii. 16. Not "from Adam," but "in Adam." See Keil *ad loc.* Zaretan is near Succoth, at the mouth of the Jabbok, 1 Kings, vii. 46.

[5] Josh. iii. 16 (LXX.), unless this be another reading for Kirjath-Adam (the city of Adam). [Comp. Kiriathaim, in the same neighbourhood, Gen. xiv. 5.]

[6] So Symmachus's version, as the LXX. in Ps. xxxiii. 7.

[7] The word here used, *ned*, is only used of "water" with regard to the Jordan river, and the waves of the sea poetically (Ps. xxxiii. 7; Ex. xv. 8). The Vulgate makes this to be "as high as a mountain." The Samaritan Joshua makes it "wave rising upon "wave till it reached the height of a "lofty mountain."

[8] Πῆγμα, LXX.; Josh. iii. 16.

[9] Ps. cxiv. 3.

bed of the river left dry from north to south, through its long windings; the huge stones [1] lying bare here and there, embedded in the soft bottom; or the [2] shingly pebbles drifted along the course of the channel.

The Passage.

The Ark stood above. The army passed below. The women and children, according to the Jewish [3] tradition, were placed in the centre, from the fear lest they should be swept away by the violence of the current. The host, at different points probably, [4] rushed across. The priests remained motionless, their feet [5] sunk in the deep mud of the channel. In front, contrary to the [6] usual order, as if to secure that they should fulfil their vow, went the three Transjordanic tribes. They were thus the first to set foot on the shore beyond. Their own memorial of the passage was the monument [7] already described. But the national memorial was on a larger scale. Carried [8] aloft before the priests as they left the river bed, were "twelve stones," selected by the twelve chiefs of the tribes. These were planted on the upper terrace of the plain of the Jordan, and became the centre of the first sanctuary of the Holy Land,—the first place pronounced "holy," the "sacred place" of the Jordan [9] valley, where the tabernacle remained [10] till it was fixed at Shiloh. Gilgal long retained reminiscences of its ancient sanctity. The twelve stones taken up from the [11] bed of the Jordan continued at least till the time of the composition of the Book of Joshua, and seem to have been invested with a

[1] As implied in Josh. iv. 9, 18.
[2] Jos. *Ant.* v. 1, § 3.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] "Hasted," Josh. iv. 10.
[5] This is implied in the word translated "lifted up;" but more properly as in the margin, "plucked up." Josh. iv. 18.
[6] Num. xxxii. 20; Josh. iv. 12.
[7] Lecture IX.
[8] The LXX. reads in Josh. iv. 11, "the stones," instead of "the priests."
[9] Josh. v. 13—15.
[10] Josh. xviii. 1.
[11] Josh. iv. 5. For the question of the double memorial, see the commentators on this place. The LXX. text (iv. 9) supposes two.

reverence, which came to be regarded at last as [1] idolatrous. The name was joined with that of the acacia groves on the farther side, in the title, as it would seem, given in popular tradition or in ancient records, to this passage of the history: "From Shittim to [2] Gilgal."

Gilgal.

But its immediate connection was with the first stage of the Conquest. The touching allegory by which in the "Pilgrim's Progress" the passage of the Jordan is made the likeness of the passage of the river of Death to the land of rest beyond, has but a slight ground in the language of the Bible, or the course of the history. The passage of the Jordan was not the end, but the beginning of a long and troubled conflict. Of this, the first step was the occupation of Gilgal. It became immediately the frontier fortress, such as the Greeks under the name of *epiteichisma*, and the Romans under the name of *colonia*, always planted as their advanced posts in a hostile country, such as at Kufa the Arab conquerors founded before the building of [3] Bagdad, and at Fostat before the building of Cairo. It was also, as [4] Josephus well says, the "place of freedom." There they cast off the slough of their wandering life. The uncircumcised state, regarded as a deep reproach by the higher civilisation of the East, was now to be "rolled away." The ancient rite was performed once more, and the knives of flint used on the occasion were preserved as sacred relics. The hill where the ceremony had taken place—one of the many argillaceous hills on the terraces of the valley—was called by a name commemorating the event, as was [5] Gilgal itself. A Jewish sect is reported still to exist at Bozra, which professes to have broken off from Israel at this time. They are said to abhor not only circumcision, but every thing which can remind them of it—all

The circumcision.

[1] Judg. iii. 26; Hosea, iv. 15; ix. 15; xii. 11; Amos, iv. 4; v. 5.
[2] Micah, vi. 5.
[3] Ewald, ii. 244.
[4] *Ant.* v. 1, § 4.
[5] *Ib.* v. 3, § 7.

cutting with knives, even at meals. One other sign of the desert ceased at the same time. For the first time since leaving Sinai, the Passover was celebrated, and the cakes were made no longer of manna, but of the corn of Palestine, bread found in the houses of the old inhabitants.

Jericho. It was on Jericho that the attention of Joshua had been already fixed before the Passage of the Jordan. Following the plan which seems to have been universal in the warfare of those times, he sent two spies, as he and his eleven companions had once gone before from the south, as the spies were afterwards sent to explore [1]Ai and [2]Bethel. They, like the wild Gadites in David's time, swam the flooded river, and out of their adventure grew the one gentle incident of this part of the history—the kindness and honour dealt to Rahab, the first convert to the Jewish faith.

Jericho was the most, indeed the only, important town in the Jordan valley. Not only was it conspicuous amongst the other Canaanitish towns, for its walls and gates, and its rich temple, filled with gold, silver, iron, brass, and even Mesopotamian[3] drapery, but its situation was such as must always have rendered its occupation necessary to any invader from that quarter. It was the key of Western Palestine, as standing at the entrance of the two main passes into the central mountains. From the issues of the torrent of the Kelt on the south, to the copious spring, afterwards called "the fountain of Elisha," on the north, the ancient city ran along the base of the mountains, and thus commanded the oasis of the desert valley, the garden or park of verdure, which clustering round these waters has, through the various stages of its long existence, secured its prosperity and grandeur.

Beautiful as the spot is now in utter neglect, it must have been far more so when it was first seen by the Israelite host at Gilgal. Gilgal was about five miles distant from

[1] Josh. vii. 2. [2] Judg. i. 23. [3] Josh. vii. 21.

the river banks; at the eastern outskirts, therefore, of the great forest. Jericho itself stood at its western extremity, immediately where the springs issue from the hills. From that scene of their earliest settlement in Palestine, the Israelites looked out over the intervening woods to what was to be the first prize of the conquest. The forest itself did not then consist, as now, merely of the picturesque thorn, but was a vast grove of majestic palms, nearly three miles broad, and eight miles long. It must have recalled to the few survivors of the old generation the magnificent palm-groves of Egypt, such as may now be seen stretching along the shores of the Nile at Memphis. Amidst this forest—as is, to a certain extent, the case even now—would have been seen, stretching through its open spaces, fields of ripe corn; for it was "the time of barley harvest." Above the topmost trees would be seen the high walls and towers of the city, which from that grove derived its proud name, "Jericho, the city of palms," "high, and fenced up to heaven." Behind the city rose the jagged range of the white limestone mountains of Judæa, here presenting one of the few varied and beautiful outlines that can be seen amongst the southern hills of Palestine. This range is "the mountain" to which the spies had fled whilst their pursuers vainly sought them on the way to the Jordan.

Its fall.

The story of the Fall of Jericho, and the Passage of the Jordan, carries with it the same impression as that of the Exodus; that it was not by their own power, but by a Higher, that the Israelites were to effect their first entrance into the Promised Land. Whatever might be their own part in what followed—whatever might be their own even in this—the sagacity of Joshua, the venturesomeness of the spies, the fidelity of Rahab, the seven days' march, the well-known and terrible war-cry; yet the river is crossed, and the city falls, by other means. It may be that these means were found

in the resources of the natural agencies of earthquake or [1] volcanic convulsion, which mark the whole of the Jordan valley, from Gennesareth down to the Dead Sea, and which are perpetually recurring in its course, not only during the sacred history, but to our own time. If so, we have a remarkable illustration and confirmation of the narrative, the more so, because the secondary causes of these phenomena must have been to the sacred historians themselves unknown. But, if we are denied this external testimony to the events, the moral, which the relation of them is intended to teach, and which no doubt it did teach, remains the same, and is well expressed in the [2] Psalm of later days:

"We have heard with our ears, O God;
"Our fathers have told us what Thou didst in their days, in the times of old:
"How Thou didst drive out the heathen with Thy hand, and plantedst them;
"How Thou didst afflict the people, and cast them out.
"For they got not the land in possession by their own sword,
"Neither did their own arm save them;
"But Thy right hand, and Thine arm, and the light of Thy countenance,
"Because Thou hadst a favour unto them."

The ultimate importance of the fall of Jericho is marked by the consecration of its spoil, and by the curse on its rebuilder. But its immediate consequences lay in the opening which it afforded for penetrating into the hills above. It was a critical moment, for it was exactly at the similar stage
Fall of Ai of their approach to Palestine from the south, that the Israelites had met with the severe repulse at Hormah, which had driven them back into the desert for forty years. "Joshua" accordingly "sent men from Jericho to Ai, which is beside

[1] Instances—obvious, indeed, without any special enumeration — are given both of the effect on waters and on cities, by earthquakes, in illustration of these events, by Dr. King, in his *Morsels of Criticism*, iii. 287, 305.

[2] Ps. xliv. 1—3.

"Bethaven, on the east side of Bethel, and spake unto them, "saying, Go up and view the country." The precise position of Ai is unknown; but this indication points out its probable site in the wild entanglement of hill and valley at the head of the ravines running up from the valley of the Jordan. The two attempts of the Israelites that followed upon the report of the spies, are quite in accordance with the natural features of the pass. In the first attempt the inhabitants of Ai, taking advantage of their strong position on the heights, drove the invaders "from before the gate," . . . and smote them in "the going down" of the steep descent. In the second attempt, after the Israelites had been reassured by the execution of Achan "in the valley of Achor," probably one of the valleys opening into the Ghor, the attack was conducted on different principles. An ambush was placed by night high up in the main ravine between Ai and Bethel. Joshua himself took up his position on the north side of "the ravine," apparently the deep chasm through which it joins the ravine of Jericho. From this point the army descended into the valley, Joshua himself, it would seem, remaining on the heights; and, decoyed by them, the King of Ai with his forces pursued them as before into the "desert" valley of the Jordan; whilst the ambush, at the signal of Joshua's uplifted spear, rushed down on the city; and then, amidst the mingled attack at the head of the pass from behind, and the return of the main body from the desert of the Jordan, the whole population of Ai was destroyed. A heap of ruins on its site, and a huge cairn over the grave of its last [1]king, remained long afterwards as the sole memorials of the destroyed city.

The passes were now secured, and the interior of the country was accessible. Two peaceful memorials remained

[1] Joshua, viii. 28, 29.

of this stage of the conquest. The first was the adoption of
Rahab. Rahab into the community. "She dwelleth among the "people to this day." The stringency of the Mosaic law prohibiting intermarriage with the accursed race was relaxed in her favour. To her was traced back the princely lineage of David, and of a greater than David. Her trust in God, and her friendly hospitality whilst yet a heathen, were treasured up by the [1]better spirits of the later Jewish and early Christian Church, as a signal instance of the universality of Divine mercy and of religious faith.

The Gibeonites. The other was the league with the Gibeonites. The historical peculiarities of this transaction explain themselves. The situation and character of Gibeon at once placed it in an exceptional position. Planted at the head of the Pass of Beth-horon, and immediately opposite the opening of the Pass of Ai, it would have been the next prey on which the Israelite host would have sprung. On the other hand, its organisation, being apparently aristocratic, or federal, — itself at the head of a small [2] band of kindred cities, — separated it from the interests of the royal fortresses of the rest of Palestine. Their device is full of the quaint humour which marks its antiquity. It is observable that they represent themselves as not having yet heard of the aggression on Western Palestine, only of the bygone conquest of the Amorite kings beyond the Jordan.

The league. The remembrance of the league was kept up through the whole course of the subsequent history. The massacre of the Gibeonites by Saul was not excused by the fact that they were an alien race. David was faithful to the vow which

[1] Heb. xi. 31; James, ii. 25; Clem. *Ep. ad Cor.*; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. ad Matt.* i. 5. The change of "harlot" into "hostess," is one of the many attempts made in later times to force the fearless simplicity of the Biblical narrative into conformity with a pre-conceived hypothesis of the perfection of everything to which it relates.

[2] Josh. ix. 17.

Joshua had first made. That vow and its observance, even though darkened by its sanguinary consequences in the sacrifice of the sons of Saul, stands out in the careers of Joshua and of David as an example, rare in the history of the Christian Church, of faith kept with heretics and infidels. When in the fifteenth century Ladislaus of Hungary had made a solemn treaty with Amurath II., and when tidings arrived of unlooked-for succours to the Christian host, no less a personage than Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, in an elaborate argument, urged the king to break the [1]league. The chief of the Polish clergy, in a spirit more worthy both of the Old and the New Dispensation, protested against the treacherous act. But he protested alone, and King and Cardinal broke their plighted faith, and hurried on the Christian army to what proved its destruction. Not so the leaders of Israel under Joshua, when public opinion clamoured for vengeance on the Gibeonite deceivers. "All the congregation mur-"mured against the princes. But all the princes said unto "all the congregation, We have sworn unto them by the "Lord God of Israel; now, therefore, we may not touch "them. This we will do to them: we will even let them "live, lest wrath be upon us because of the oath which we "sware unto them."[2]

Their lives were spared. They willingly undertook the tributary service which was levied upon them. Under "the great high place" on which the Tabernacle — at least during part of the subsequent history — was raised, they remained in after-times a monument of this early league. With what fidelity the promise was observed, and with what important consequences, will be best seen by describing the great event to which it directly led,—the Battle of Beth-horon.

[1] *Life of Cardinal Julian*, pp. 329—341.

[2] Josh. ix. 18—20.

LECTURE XI.

THE CONQUEST OF WESTERN PALESTINE—BATTLE OF BETH-HORON.

Battle of Beth-horon.

THE battle of Beth-horon or Gibeon is one of the most important in the history of the world; and yet so profound has been the indifference, first of the religious world, and then (through their example or influence) of the common world, to the historical study of the Hebrew annals, that the very name of this great battle is far less known to most of us than that of Marathon or Cannæ.

It is one of the few military engagements which belong equally to Ecclesiastical and to Civil History — which have decided equally the fortunes of the world and of the Church. The roll will be complete if to this we add two or three more which we shall encounter in the Jewish History; and, in later times, the battle of the Milvian Bridge, which involved the fall of Paganism; the battle of Poitiers, which sealed the fall of Arianism; the battle of Bedr, which secured the rise of Mahometanism in Asia; the battle of Tours, which checked the spread of Mahometanism in Western Europe; the battle of Lepanto which checked it in Eastern Europe; the battle of Lutzen which determined the balance of power between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in Germany.

The kings of Palestine, each in his little mountain fastness, — like the kings of early Greece, crowded thick together in the plains of Argos and of Thebes, when they were summoned to the Trojan war,—were roused by the tidings that the

approaches to their territory in the Jordan valley and in the passes leading from it were in the hand of the enemy. Those who occupied the south felt that the crisis was yet more imminent when they heard of the capitulation of Gibeon. Jebus, or Jerusalem, even in those ancient times, was recognised as their centre. Its chief took the lead of the hostile confederacy. The point of attack, however, was not the invading army, but the traitors at home. Gibeon, the recreant city, was besieged. The continuance or the raising of the siege, as in the case of Orleans in the fifteenth century, and Vienna in the seventeenth, became the turning question of the war. The summons of the Gibeonites to Joshua was as urgent as words can describe, and gives the key note to the whole movement. "Slack not thy hand from thy servants; "come up to us quickly, and save us, and help us; for all "the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the mountains are "gathered together against us." Not a moment was to be lost. As in the battle of Marathon, everything depended on the suddenness of the blow which should break in pieces the hostile confederation. On the former occasion of Joshua's visit to Gibeon, it had been a three days' journey from Gilgal, as according to the slow pace of eastern armies and caravans it might well be. But now, by a forced march, "Joshua "came unto them suddenly, and went up from Gilgal all "night." When the sun rose behind him, he was already in the open ground at the foot of the heights of Gibeon, where the kings were encamped (according to [1] tradition) by a spring in the neighbourhood. The towering hill at the foot of which Gibeon lay, rose before them on the west. The besieged and the [2] besiegers alike were taken by surprise.

Siege of Gibeon.

As often before and after, so now, "not a man could First stage

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* v. 1, § 17.

[2] In the Samaritan tradition the war-cry was, "God is mighty in battle: God is His name" (*Samaritan Joshua*, ch. 20, 21).

of the battle. "stand before" the awe and the panic of the sudden sound of that terrible shout — the sudden appearance of that undaunted host, who came with the assurance not "to fear, nor "to be dismayed, but to be strong and of a good courage, "for the Lord had delivered their enemies into their hands." The Canaanites fled down the western pass, and "the Lord "discomfited them before Israel, and slew them with a "great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way "that *goeth up* to Beth-horon." This was the first stage of the flight. It is a long rocky [1] ascent, sinking and rising more than once, before the summit is reached. From the summit, which is crowned by the village of Upper Beth-horon, a wide view opens over the valley of Ajalon, of "Stags" or "Gazelles," which runs in from the plain of Sharon. Jaffa, Ramleh, Lydda, are all visible beyond.

Second stage of the battle. "And it came to pass as they fled before Israel, and were "in the *going down* to Beth-horon, that the Lord cast down "great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah." This was the second stage of the flight. The fugitives had outstripped the pursuers; they had crossed the high ridge of Beth-horon the Upper; they were in full flight to Beth-horon the Nether. It is a rough, rocky road, sometimes over the upturned edges of the limestone strata, sometimes over sheets of smooth rock, sametimes over loose rectangular

The storm. stones, sometimes over steps cut in the rock. It was as they fled down this slippery descent, that, as in the fight of Barak against Sisera, a fearful tempest, "thunder, lightning, "and a deluge of [2] hail," broke over the disordered ranks; "they were more which died of the [3] hailstones than they "whom the children of Israel slew with the sword."

[1] The actual amount of elevation in this ascent is perhaps doubtful.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* v. 1, § 17. Compare Judg. iv. 15; v. 20; 1 Sam. vii. 10.

[3] The stones have been interpreted as meteoric stones; but the explanation of them in the Hebrew text, and the tradition in the LXX. and Josephus, are decisive in favour of the hailstorm.

So, as it would seem, ended the direct narrative of this second stage of the flight. But at this point, as in the case of the defeat of Sisera, we have one of those openings, as it were, in the structure of the Sacred history, which reveal to us a glimpse of another, probably an older, version, lying below the surface of the narrative. In the victory of Barak, we have the whole account, first in prose and then in verse. Here we have, in like manner, first, the prose account; and then, either the same events, or the events immediately following, related in poetry — taken from one of the lost books of the original canon of the Jewish Church, the Book of [1] Jasher.

Joshua's Prayer.

On the summit of the pass, where is now the hamlet of the Upper Beth-horon, looking far down the deep descent of the Western valleys, with the green vale of Ajalon stretched out in the distance, and the wide expanse of the Mediterranean Sea beyond, stood, as is intimated, the Israelite chief. Below him was rushing down, in wild confusion, the Amorite host. Around him were "all his people of war, and all his mighty men of valour." Behind him were the hills which hid Gibeon — the now rescued Gibeon — from his sight. But the sun stood high above those hills, "in the [2] midst of heaven," for the day had now far advanced, since he had emerged from his night march through the passes of Ai; and in front, over the western vale of Ajalon, may have been the faint crescent of the waning moon, visible above the hailstorm driving up from the sea in the black distance. Was the enemy to escape in safety, or was the speed with which Joshua had "come "quickly, and saved and helped" his defenceless allies, to be

[1] We know this book only from the two fragments (Josh. x. 12–14, 2 Sam. i. 17–27) which have come down to us. But, according to a probable conjecture, first started by Theodoret (*Quæstiones in Jesum filium Nave*), it was a volume containing songs of the departed "heroes" or "just ones."

[2] If the expression "upon Gibeon," in Joshua x. 12, be exact, then the early morning must be intended; if "the midst of Heaven" in x. 13 then it must be the noon.

rewarded, before the close of that day, by a signal and decisive victory?

It is doubtless so standing on that lofty eminence, with outstretched hand and spear, as on the hill above Ai, that the Hero appears in the ancient song of the Book of Heroes.

"Then spake Joshua unto JEHOVAH
In the day 'that God gave up the Amorite
Into the hand of Israel,' (LXX.)
When He discomfited them in Gibeon,
'And they were discomfited before the face of Israel.' (LXX.)
And Joshua said:
'Be thou still,' O Sun, upon Gibeon,
And, thou Moon, upon the valley of Ajalon!
And the Sun was still,
And the Moon stood,
Until 'the nation' (or LXX. 'until God') had avenged them upon their enemies.
And the sun stood in 'the very midst' of the heavens,
And hasted not to go down for a whole day.
And there was no day like that before it or after it,
That JEHOVAH heard the voice of a man,
For JEHOVAH fought for [1]Israel.
And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp in Gilgal."

Third stage of the battle.

So ended the second stage of the flight. In the lengthened day thus given to Joshua's prayer, comes the third stage. "The Lord smote them to Azekah and unto Makkedah, and "these five kings fled and hid themselves in the cave at

[1] I have given at length what appears to be the extract from the Poetical Book (Josh. x. 12–15). In some respects it seems to be better preserved in the LXX.; in others, in the Received Text. The LXX. has given the first portion (verse 12) in the metrical form, which the Received Text has reduced to prose; and has left out the reference to the Book of Jasher, which the Received Text inserts in the middle of the extract. On the other hand, the LXX. leaves out the closing verse of the extract (verse 15), from the just feeling that it interrupts the historical narrative; but apparently overlooking its connexion with the distinct document from Jasher. Besides the metre of the passage, some of the phrases seem to indicate its poetic character. For example, the unusual use of the word *Goi* (nation), for the people of Israel (in verse 13), and the expression of the sun "being silent," as if awe-struck.

"Makkedah." But Joshua halted not when he was told; the same speed was still required,—the victory was not yet won. The mouth of the cave was blocked by huge stones, and a guard stationed to watch it whilst the pursuit was continued. We know not precisely the position of Makkedah; but it must have been, probably, at the point where the mountains sink into the plain, that this last struggle took place; and thither, at last, "all the people of Israel returned "in peace; none moved his tongue against any of the people "of Israel." A camp was formed round the royal hiding place. It was a well-known cave, "the [1] cave," overshadowed by a grove of trees. The five kings were dragged out of its recesses, for the first time, to the gaze of their enemies. Their names and cities were handed down in various [2] versions, to later times. Hoham or Elam, of Hebron; Piram or Phidon, of Jarmuth; Japhia or Jephtha, of Lachish; Dabir or Debir, either of Eglon or Adullam: and their leader, Adoni-zedek or Adoni-bezek, of Jerusalem. If the former ("the Lord of "Righteousness") is the name, it suggests a confirmation of the tradition that the Salem where Melchi-zedek, "the King "of Righteousness," reigned, was Jerusalem, thus conferring on its rulers a kind of hereditary designation. If the latter, he must have had a connexion, more or less close, with the terrible [3] chief who had seventy captive princes grovelling under his table, after the savage custom of Oriental despots. An awe is described as falling on the Israelite warriors, when they saw the prostrate kings. At the Conqueror's bidding, they drew near; and according to the usage portrayed in the monuments of Assyria and Egypt, planted their feet on the necks of their enemies. It was reserved for Joshua himself to slay them. The dead bodies were hung

The slaughter of the kings.

[1] *The* cave in the Hebrew and in the LXX. Josh. x. 16, 17. For the trees see x. 26.

[2] The variations appear in the LXX.

[3] Judg. i. 7.

aloft, each on its own separate tree, beside the cave, and remained (so it would seem) "until the evening," when, at last, that memorable sun "went down." The cave where they had been hid became the royal sepulchre. The stones which on that self-same [1] day had cut them off from escape, closed the mouth of their tomb; and the destruction of the neighbouring town of Makkedah "on that day," completed their dreadful obsequies.

So ended the [2] day to which, in the words of the ancient sacred song, "there was no day like, before or after it." The possession of every place, sacred for them and for all future ages, through the whole centre and south of Palestine, — Shechem, Shiloh, Gibeon, Bethlehem, Hebron, and even for a time, Jerusalem, was the issue of that conflict. "And "all these kings and their land did Joshua take at *one* time, "because the Lord God fought for Israel." "And Joshua re- "turned, and all Israel with him, [3] unto the camp to Gilgal." It is the only incident of this period expressly noticed in the later books of the Old Testament. "The Lord shall "rise up as in Mount Perazim; He [4] shall be wroth as in the "valley *by Gibeon*." The very day of the week was fixed in

[1] See Keil on Josh. x. 27.

[2] This first victory of their race may well have inspirited Judas Maccabeus, who, himself a native of the neighbouring hills, won his earliest fame in this same "going up and coming down of Beth-horon," where in like manner "the residue" of the defeated army fled into "the plain," "into the land of the Philistines." And again over the same plain was carried the great Roman road from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, up which Cestius advanced at the first onset of the Roman armies on the capital of Judæa, and down which he and his whole force were driven by the insurgent Jews. By a singular coincidence the same scene thus witnessed the first and the last great victory that crowned the Jewish arms at the interval of nearly fifteen hundred years. From their camp at Gibeon, the Romans, as the Canaanites before them, were dislodged; they fled in similar confusion down the ravine to Beth-horon, the steep cliffs and the rugged road rendering cavalry unavailable against the merciless fury of their pursuers: they were only saved—as the Canaanites were not saved—by the too rapid descent of the shades of night over the mountains, and under the cover of those shades they escaped to Antipatris, in the plain below.

[3] Josh. x. 28–43.

[4] Isa. xxviii. 21.

later traditions. With the [1]Samaritans it was Thursday; with the [2]Mussulmans it was Friday; and this has been given as a reason for that day being chosen as the sacred day of Islam. Importance of the Battle.

Immediately upon its close, follows the rapid succession of victory and extermination which swept the whole of Southern Palestine into the hands of Israel. It is probable, indeed, from what [3]follows, either that the subjugation and destruction were less complete than this narrative would imply, or that the deeds of Joshua's companions and successors are here ascribed to himself and to this time. But the concentration of the interest of the conquest on this one event, if not chronologically exact, yet no doubt justly represents the feeling that this was the one decisive battle, involving all the other consequences in its train.

There are two difficulties which have been occasioned by this event, or rather by its interpretation, which have not been without influence on the history of the Christian Church. Difficulties.

I. The first has arisen from the words of Joshua, "Sun, "'be thou still' on Gibeon, and thou, Moon, over the valley "of Ajalon:" or, as read in the Vulgate, which first gave the offence, "Sun, move not thou towards Gibeon, nor "thou, Moon, towards the valley of Ajalon." These words in the Book of Joshua were doubtless intended to express that in some manner, in answer to Joshua's earnest prayer, the day was prolonged till the victory was achieved. How, or in what way, we are not told: and if we take the words in the popular and poetical sense in which from their style it The sun standing still.

[1] *Sam. Joshua*, ch. 21, where the news of the victory was brought to Eleazar by a carrier pigeon.

[2] Buckingham's *Travels*, p. 302. Jelaleddin, *Temple of Jerusalem*, 287.

[3] For example, Hebron and Debir are taken or retaken (Judg. i. 10). Compare also Josh. xi. 18—21—"Joshua "made war a *long time* with all those "kings . . . . and at that time came "Joshua and cut off the Anakims from "the mountains, from *Hebron, from* "*Debir*, &c."

is clear that they are used, there is no occasion for inquiry. That some such general sense is what was understood in the ancient Jewish Church itself, is evident from the slight emphasis laid upon the incident by [1]Josephus, and the Samaritan Book of Joshua; and from the absence of any subsequent allusion to it (unless, indeed, in a [2]similar poetic strain) in the Old or New Testament. But in later times men were not content without taking them in their literal, prosaic sense, and supposing that the sun and the moon actually stood still, and that the system of the universe was arrested. It was this interpretation which invested the passage with a new and alarming importance when the Copernican system was set forth by Galileo; when it appeared that the sun, being always stationary, could not be said to stand still or to move. Round this famous prayer was fought a battle of words in ecclesiastical history, hardly less important than the battle of Joshua and the Canaanites. It raged through the lifetime of Galileo; its last direct traces appear in the preface of the Jesuits to their edition of Newton's *Principia*, defending themselves for their apparent, but (as they state) only hypothetical, sanction of a theory which, by supposing the earth's motion, runs counter to the Papal decrees. It continues still in the terrors awakened in many religious minds by the analogous collisions between the letter of Scripture and the advances of science in geology, ethnology, and philology. But, in fact, the victory was won in the person of Galileo. Even the Court of Rome has since admitted its mistake. It is now universally acknowledged that on that occasion "the

[1] *Ant.* v. 1, § 17. "He then heard "that God was helping him, by the "signs of thunder, lightning, and un- "usual hailstones; and that the day "was increased, lest the night should "check the zeal of the Hebrews. . . . "That the length of the day did then "increase, and was longer than usual, "is told in the books laid up in the "Temple." The Samaritan book simply says, "that the day was prolonged "at his prayer." (ch. 20).

[2] Hab. iii. 11.

"astronomers were right and the theologians were wrong." The principle was then once for all established, that the Bible was not intended to teach scientific truth. This incident in the Sacred narrative has thus, instead of a stumbling-block, become a monument of the reconciliation of religion and science; and the advance in our knowledge of the Bible since that time has still further tended to diminish the collision which then seemed so frightful, because it has shown us far more clearly than could be seen in former times, that the language employed is not only popular, but [1]poetical and rhythmical; and that the attempt to interpret it scientifically is based on a total misconception of the intention of the words themselves. But, even with the imperfect knowledge of Biblical criticism then possessed, the defence of their position by the two great astronomers sums up the question in terms which not only meet the whole of this case, but apply to any further questions of the kind which may meet us hereafter.

Answer of Galileo.

Galileo, with the caution which belonged to his character and situation, mainly relies on the authority of others. But these were almost the highest that he could have named. The first is Baronius, the chief ecclesiastical historian of the Roman Church: "The intention of Holy Scripture is to show "us how to go to heaven, not to show us how the heaven

[1] It is well known that various scientific expedients have been invented to solve the question. Some have imagined a long prepared scheme for the arrest of the solar system, and a succession of secret miracles to avoid the consequences of such a universal shock. Others have supposed a refraction, a parhelion, or a multiplication of parhelions. Others have seen in the passage the intimation of a suspended deluge. To those who may regard any of these explanations as authorised either by reason or Scripture, what has here been said will be superfluous. But, if there be any to whom such explanations appear not only improbable in themselves, but contrary to the plain tenour of the Sacred narrative, it may be a satisfaction to adopt the statement given above, which is, in fact, the unanimous opinion of all German theologians of whatever school. The expression, "the stars "in their courses fought against "Sisera" (Judg. v. 20), has never been distorted from its true poetical character, and has, therefore, given rise to no alarms and no speculations.

"goeth."[1] The second was Jerome, the author of the most venerable translation of the Bible: "Many things are spoken "in Scripture according to the judgement of those times "wherein they were acted, and not according to that which "truth contained."[2]

Answer of Kepler.

Kepler, with that union of courage and piety which marks his whole career, explains the text himself. "They will not "understand that the only thing which Joshua prayed for, "was that the mountains might not intercept the sun from "him. Besides, it had been very unreasonable at that time "to think of astronomy, or of the errors of sight; for if any "one had told him that the sun could not really move on "the valley of Ajalon, but only in relation to sense, would "not Joshua have answered that his desire was that the day "might be [3]prolonged, so it were by any means whatsoever?"

So far the wise astronomer speaks of the actual historic incident. But I may be excused for adding the conclusion of his treatise, in words equally profitable to the learned and the unlearned student. "He who is so stupid as not to "comprehend the science of astronomy, or so weak as to "think it an offence of piety to adhere to Copernicus, him I "advise — that, leaving the study of astronomy and censur- "ing the opinions of philosophers at pleasure, he betake "himself to his own concerns, and that desisting from fur- "ther pursuit of those intricate studies, he keep at home "and manure his own ground; and with those eyes where- "with alone he seeth, being elevated towards this much-to- "be-admired heaven, let him pour forth his whole heart in "thanks and praises to God the Creator, and assure himself "that he shall therein perform as much worship to God as "the astronomer on whom God hath bestowed this gift, that

[1] Galileo's *Tract on rash Citations from Scripture* (Salusbury's *Mathematical Tracts*, i. 436).

[2] Jerome (*ibid.* 448).

[3] Kepler's *Tract* (*ibid.* 463).

"though he seeth more clearly with the eye of his under-
"standing, yet whatever he hath attained to he is both able
"and willing to behold his God above it.

"Thus much concerning Scripture. Now as touching the
"authority of the Fathers. Sacred was Lactantius, who denied
"the earth's rotundity: sacred was Augustine, who admitted
"the earth to be round but denied the antipodes: sacred is
"the liturgy of our moderns, who admit the smallness of the
"earth but deny its motion. But to me more sacred than all
"these is — [1]TRUTH."

The massacres of the Canaanites.

II. The second difficulty is that which belongs to the general question of the extermination of the Canaanites; but which is brought out so much more forcibly by the detail of the successive massacres which followed the battle of Bethhoron, that this seems the best place for considering it.

There are few who hear the closing scenes of the 10th chapter of the Book of Joshua read without asking how such a total extirpation could have been carried out without the demoralisation of those concerned, or how any sanction to it could be given in a book claiming to be, at least, one stage in the Divine revelations.

Many explanations have been given — the denial of the fact, the treatment of the whole as an allegory, the alleged parallels in the promiscuous destruction of human life by earthquake and pestilence.

Answer of Chrysostom.

It is believed, however, that most reflecting minds will acquiesce in the general truth of an answer given long ago by Chrysostom, and founded on the express and fundamental teaching of Christ and His Apostles.

He is speaking of the verse in the 139th[2] Psalm, — "I "hate them with a perfect hatred," and wishes to reconcile

[1] Kepler (Salusbury's *Mathematical Tracts*, i. 437).

[2] Chrysost. on 1 Cor. xiii.

it with the duty of Christian charity. "*Now*," he says, "a higher philosophy is required of us than of them. . . . "For thus they are ordered to hate not only impiety, but the "persons of the impious, lest their friendship should be an "occasion of going astray. Therefore he cut off all inter- "course, and freed them on every side."

Answer of our Lord.

The difference in this respect between the Old and New dispensation is laid down in the strongest manner by our Lord himself.

"[1]Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, "and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, That ye resist "not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, "turn to him the other also."

"[2]Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love "thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to "them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully "use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children "of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun "to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the "just and on the unjust."

"And when His disciples James and John saw this, they "said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down "from heaven, and consume them, even as Elijah did? "But He turned, and rebuked [3]them, and said, Ye know "not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of "man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save "them."

Answer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

And further, that this inferiority of the Old dispensation was an acknowledged element in the "gradualness and par- "tialness" of Revelation, inevitably flows from the definition

[1] Matt. v. 38, 39.
[2] Matt. v. 43—45.
[3] Luke, ix. 54, 55, 56. The last words are omitted in the best MSS. But they must represent a very early tradition.

of Revelation as given by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. "God who at sundry times and in divers "manners spake in times past to our [1]fathers."

How necessary this accommodation may have been to that rude age, we see from analogous instances in later history. Not only in the ancient world do we read, even approvingly, of like conduct in the Homeric or the early Roman heroes, but even in Christian times we can point to cases in which no shock has been given to the general moral sense by an impulse or command of this destructive character, and in which the general moral character has risen above this particular depression of its humaner instincts. I refer not merely to the darker periods of Christendom, more nearly resembling the Judaic spirit of the age of Joshua, but even to our own. We have no right to find objections to these portions of the Old Testament, when we acknowledge the same feelings in ourselves or others without reprobation. Two instances may suffice. Illustrations.

(1.) In the late Indian mutiny, at the time when the belief in the Sepoy atrocities (since exploded) prevailed throughout India, it will be in the memory of some that letters were received from India, from conscientious and religious men, containing phrases to this effect. "The Book "of Joshua is now being read in church" (in the season when this chapter forms one of the first Lessons of the services of the Church of England). "It expresses exactly "what we are all feeling. I never before understood the force "of that part of the Bible. It is the only rule for us to follow." I do not quote this sentiment to approve of it. I quote it to show that what could be felt, even for a moment, by civilised Christendom now, might well be pardoned, or even commended, in Jewish soldiers three thousand years ago. From the Indian mutiny.

[1] Heb. i. 1.

From Cromwell's massacres at Drogheda.

(2.) Oliver Cromwell, in the storming of Drogheda, ordered an almost promiscuous massacre of the Irish inhabitants. Of the act itself I do not speak. It is now generally admitted that the Puritans attached an undue authority to the details of the Jewish Scriptures. But the point to be observed is, that Cromwell's act has received a high eulogy in our own time from one who, as well by his genius and learning as by his command of the sympathies of the rising generation, in a great measure represents the most advanced intelligence of our age.

"Oliver's proceedings here have been the theme of much "loud criticism, and sibylline execration, into which it "is not our plan to enter at present. Terrible surgery "this; but *is* it surgery and judgement, or atrocious murder "merely? That is a question which should be asked, and "answered. Oliver Cromwell did believe in God's judge-"ments; and did not believe in the rose-water plan of "surgery;—which, in fact, is this editor's case too!

"The reader of Cromwell's Letters, . . . who still looks with "a recognising eye on the ways of the Supreme Powers "with this world, will find here, in the rude practical state, "a phenomenon which he will account noteworthy. An "armed soldier, solemnly conscious to himself that he is the "soldier of God the Just,— a consciousness which it well "beseems all soldiers and all men to have always,— armed "soldier, terrible as Death, relentless as Doom; doing God's "judgements on the enemies of God! It is a phenomenon "not of joyful nature; no, but of awful, to be looked at "with pious terror and awe."[1]

Finally, whether we justify this or any like application of Joshua's example in later times, there remains (as, indeed, is implied in the passage just quoted) one per-

[1] Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ii. 453, 454.

manent lesson,—the duty of keeping alive in the human heart the sense of burning indignation against moral evil,—against selfishness, against injustice, against untruth, in ourselves as well as in others. That is as much a part of the Christian as of the Jewish dispensation. In this case, the severe curse of the Psalm on which Chrysostom comments is still true. "Do not I hate them that hate thee? yea, I hate "them with a perfect hatred, even as though they were mine "enemies." It is important to divide between the evil principle and the person in whose mixed character the evil is found. To make such a distinction is one main peculiarity of the Gospel. But it is also important to hate the evil with an undivided and perfect hatred. "A good hater," in this sense, is a character required alike by the Gospel and the Law. And the evil, which, according to the imperfect twilight of those times, was confounded with those in whom it was personified, was one which even at this distance we see to have been of portentous magnitude. It has been well [1]shown that the results of the discipline of the Jewish nation may be summed up in two points,—a settled national belief in the unity and spirituality of God, and an acknowledgment of the paramount importance of purity, as a part of morality; and further, that these two ideas are cardinal points in the education of the world. It was these two points especially which were endangered by the contact and contamination of the idolatry and the sensuality of the Phœnician tribes. "It is better"—so spoke a theologian of no fanatical [2]tendency, in a strain, it may be, of excessive, but still of noble indignation—"it is better that the wicked should be "destroyed a hundred times over than that they should tempt "those who are as yet innocent to join their company. Let

The moral lesson.

[1] See Dr. Temple's *Essay on the Education of the World*, 11—13.

[2] Arnold's *Sermons*, vi. 35—37, "Wars of the Israelites."

"us but think what might have been our fate, and the fate "of every other nation under heaven at this hour, had the "sword of the Israelites done its work more sparingly. Even "as it was, the small portions of the Canaanites who were "left, and the nations around them, so tempted the Israelites "by their idolatrous practices that we read continually of "the whole people of God turning away from his service. "But had the heathen lived in the land in equal numbers, "and, still more, had they intermarried largely with the "Israelites, how was it possible, humanly speaking, that any "sparks of the light of God's truth should have survived to "the coming of Christ? Would not the Israelites have lost "all their peculiar character; and if they had retained the "name of Jehovah as of their God, would they not have "formed as unworthy notions of his attributes, and worshipped "him with a worship as abominable, as that which the "Moabites paid to Chemosh or the Philistines to Dagon?

"But this was not to be, and therefore the nations of "Canaan were to be cut off utterly. The Israelites' sword, "in its bloodiest executions, wrought a work of mercy for all "the countries of the earth to the very end of the world. "They seem of very small importance to us now, those per- "petual contests with the Canaanites, and the Midianites, "and the Ammonites, and the Philistines, with which the "Books of Joshua and Judges and Samuel are almost "filled. We may half wonder that God should have inter- "fered in such quarrels, or have changed the course of nature, "in order to give one of the nations of Palestine the victory "over another. But in these contests, on the fate of one of "these nations of Palestine, the happiness of the human "race depended. The Israelites fought not for themselves "only, but for us. It might follow that they should thus "be accounted the enemies of all mankind,—it might be "that they were tempted by their very distinctness to

"despise other nations; still they did God's work,—still
"they preserved unhurt the seed of eternal life, and were
"the ministers of blessing to all other nations, even though
"they themselves failed to enjoy it."

LECTURE XII.

THE BATTLE OF MEROM AND SETTLEMENT OF THE TRIBES.

THE battle of Beth-horon is represented as the most important battle of the Conquest, because, being the first, it struck the decisive blow. But, in all such struggles, there is usually one last effort made for the defeated cause. This, in the subjugation of Canaan, was the battle of Merom.

It was a tradition floating in the Gentile world, that at the time of the irruption of Israel, the Canaanites were under the dominion of a [1] single king. This is inconsistent with the number of chiefs who appear in the Book of Joshua. But there was one such, who appears in the final struggle, in conformity with the Phœnician version of the event. High up in the north was the fortress of Hazor; and in early times [2] the king who reigned there had been regarded as the head of all the others. He bore the hereditary name of Jabin or "the Wise," and his title indicated his supremacy over the whole country, "the [3] King of Canaan." Its most probable situation is on one of the rocky heights of the northernmost valley of the Jordan. The name still lingers in various localities along that region. One of these [4] spots is naturally marked out for a capital by its beauty, its strength, as well as by the indispensable sign of Eastern power and civilisation — an inexhaustible source of living water, and there in

[1] Suidas, *in voce* Canaan.
[2] Josh. xi. 10.
[3] Judg. iv. 2, 23.
[4] See *Sinai and Palestine*, 397.

later times arose the town of Cæsarea Philippi, from which, in Jewish tradition, Jabin was sometimes called the King of Cæsarea. On the other hand, the place which Hazor holds in the catalogues of the cities of [1] Naphtali points to a situation farther south, and on the western side of the plain. Whichever spot be regarded as the residence of Jabin, it was under his auspices that the final gathering of the Canaanite race came to pass. Round him were assembled the heads of all the tribes who had not yet fallen under Joshua's sword. As the British chiefs were driven to the Land's End before the advance of the Saxon, so at this Land's End of Palestine were gathered for this last struggle, not only the kings of the north, in the immediate neighbourhood, but from the desert-valley of the Jordan south of the sea of Galilee, from the maritime plain of Philistia, from the heights above Sharon, and from the still unconquered Jebus, to the Hivite who dwelt "in the "valley of Baalgad under Hermon;" all these "went out, "they and all their hosts with them, even as the sand that is "upon the sea-shore in multitude, . . . and when all "these kings were met together, they came and pitched "together at the waters of Merom to fight against Israel."

Gathering of the Canaanite kings.

The new and striking feature of this battle, as distinct from those of Ai and Gibeon, consisted in the "horses and chariots "very many," which now for the first time appear in the Canaanite warfare; and it was the use of these which probably fixed the scene of the encampment by the lake, along whose level shores they could have full play for their force. It was this new phase of war which called forth the special command to Joshua, nowhere else recorded: "Thou shalt "hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire."

Nothing is told us of his previous movements. Even the scene of the battle is uncertain. "The waters of Merom"

[1] Josh. xix. 35–37; 2 Kings xv. 29. See Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* iii. 365.

have been usually identified with the uppermost of the three lakes in the Jordan valley, called by the Greeks "Samachonitis," and by the Arabs "Hûleh." Its neighbourhood to what under any hypothesis must be the site of Hazor renders this probable. But on the other hand, the expressions both of [1] Josephus and of the Sacred narrative point in a somewhat different direction; and it is therefore safer to consider it as an open question whether the fight actually took place on the shores of the lake, or by a spring or well on the upland plain which overhangs it. The suddenness of Joshua's appearance reminds us of the rapid movement by which he raised the siege of Gibeon. He came, we know not whence or how, within a day's march on the night before; and then on the morrow, "dropped" like a thunderbolt upon them "in the [2] mountain" slopes before they had time to rally on the level ground. Now for the first time was brought face to face the infantry of Israel against the cavalry and war-chariots of Canaan. No details of the battle are given — the results alone remain. "The "Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote "them and chased them," by what passes we know not, westward to the friendly Sidon, and eastward to the plain, wherever it be, of [3] Massoch or Mizpeh. The rout was complete, and the dumb instruments of Canaanite warfare were here visited with the same extremities which elsewhere we find applied only to the living inhabitants. The chariots were burnt as accursed. The horses, [4] only known as the fierce animals of war and bloodshed, and the symbols

The Battle of Merom.

[1] Josephus, who mentions the Lake Samachonitis in *Ant.* v. 5, 1, omits all mention of it here, and speaks of the battle as fought at Beeroth (the wells), near Kadesh Naphtali (*Ant.* v. 1, § 18). The expression "waters" (Josh. xi. 7) is never used elsewhere for a lake.

[2] Josh. xi. 7. (LXX.)

[3] Josh. xi. 8. (LXX.)

[4] This is the first appearance of the horse in the Jewish history. What is here said is borne out by almost every subsequent mention of it. See "Horse" in *Dictionary of the Bible.*

of foreign dominion, were rendered incapable of any further use. The war was closed with the capture of Hazor. Its king was taken, and, unlike his brethren of the south, who were hanged or crucified, underwent the nobler death [1] of beheading. This city, chief of all those taken in this campaign, was, like Ai, burnt to the ground.[2]

Settlement of the tribes.

II. And now came the apportionment of the territory among the tribes, which has made the latter half of the Book of Joshua the geographical manual of the Holy Land, the Domesday Book of the Conquest of Palestine.

Two principles have been adopted in the division of land by the conquerors of a new territory — one, specially characteristic of the modern world, and exemplified in the Norman occupation of England, by which the several chiefs appropriated portions of the newly conquered country, according to their own power or will; the other, specially characteristic of the ancient world, and exemplified in Greece and Rome, where an equal assignment to the different portions of the conquering race took effect by the deliberate act of the State. Both of these modes were adopted in the allotment of land in Palestine; though, as might be expected, the latter principle [3] prevailed.

Separate conquests.

The first of these methods is seen in the predatory expeditions of individuals to occupy particular spots hitherto unconquered, or to reclaim those, of which the inhabitants had again revolted. Of this kind were apparently the conquests in the Transjordanic territory, [4] already mentioned, by Jair and Nobah. Another instance, which belongs more properly to the next Lecture, and which was the last wave of the Israelite migration, is that of the Danite [5] expedition to the north. A third is the attack of the Ephraimites on the

Jair and Nobah.

Dan.

[1] Josh. xi. 10.
[2] *Ibid.* 11.
[3] See Arnold's *Rome*, i. 265.
[4] See Lecture IX.
[5] See Lecture XIII.

Attack on Bethel.

ancient sanctuary of Bethel. Its capture, briefly told, is a repetition of the capture of Jericho. The spies go before; a friendly Canaanite encounters them; the town is stormed and sacked; the betrayer of the place escapes, like Rahab; and, like her, has a portion assigned to his inheritance "in

Judah.

"the land of the Hittites." But the chief instance is in the tribe of Judah. It is in these early adventures that this great tribe first appears before us. Its vast prospects are still in the distant future, beyond the limits of the period comprised in this volume. Yet to this first appearance of Judah belongs the beginning of the JEWISH CHURCH, properly so called. It is by a pardonable anachronism that we extend the word to the whole of the nation. But we must not the less distinctly mark the point when the name of "Judah" or "Jew" first rises above the horizon, destined to bear in after years so vast an alternate burden of honour and of shame.

Caleb.

The founder, so to speak, of the glories of Judah was not unworthy of its later fame. Caleb, in the Desert, is hardly known. It may be, as has been conjectured from some of the links in his descent, that, though occupying this exalted place in the tribe of Judah, he obtained it in the first instance by adoption rather than by birth. He is said to "have his part and his inheritance among the children of "Judah," not as by right but "because he wholly followed "Jehovah the God of [1] Israel." And the names of Kenaz, Shobal, Hezron, Jephunneh, amongst his forefathers or his progeny, all point to an Idumean, rather than an [2] Israelite origin. If so, we have a breadth given to the name of Judah, even from its very first start, such as we have already noticed in the case of Abraham. But, Israelite or proselyte, he was the one tried companion of Joshua, and his claims rested on a yet earlier and greater sanction, that of Moses

[1] Josh. xiv. 9–14; xiv. 13.

[2] See Lord Arthur Hervey's article on "Caleb" in *Dictionary of the Bible;* and Ewald, i. 338.

himself. He was to have a portion of the land, on which "his feet had [1] trodden."

The spot, on which Caleb had set his heart, was the fertile valley of Hebron. Of all the country which the twelve spies, with Joshua and Caleb at their head, had traversed, this is the one scene which remains fixed in the sacred narrative, as if because fixed in the memory of those who made their report. There was the one field in the whole land which they might fairly call their own—the field which contained the rocky cave of Machpelah, with the graves of their first ancestors. But it was not even this sacred enclosure which had most powerfully impressed the simple explorers of that childlike age. It was the winding valley, whose terraces were covered with the rich verdure and the golden clusters of the Syrian vine, so rarely seen in Egypt, so beautiful a vesture of the bare hills of Palestine. In its rocky hills are still to be seen hewn the ancient wine-presses. Thence came the gigantic [2] cluster, the one relic of the Promised Land, which was laid at the feet of Moses. Thither, now that he found himself within that land, Caleb was resolved to return. In that valley of vineyards—in that primeval seat, as it was supposed, of the vine itself—"by the choice vine, Judah "was to bind his foal; he was to wash his garments in wine, "his clothes in the blood of grapes." This was the prize for Caleb. This he claimed from Joshua. But he was to win it for himself, and it was no easy task. It was the main fastness of the aboriginal inhabitants of the South. Even, as it might seem, after the Canaanites had fled, the chiefs of the older race still lingered there. It was the city of "the Four Giants"—Anak and his three gigantic sons. Within its walls the Last of the Anakim held out against the conquerors. But thrice over the old warrior of Judah insists on his

Hebron.

[1] Joshua, xiii. 9.

[2] Num. xiii. 22—24.

unbroken "strength." A pitched battle [1] takes place outside the walls; he drives them out; and Kirjath-Arba, with all its ancient recollections, becomes "Hebron," the centre of the mighty tribe, which was there to take up its chief abode. Far and wide his name extended, and, alone of all the conquerors on the west of the Jordan, he succeeded in [2] identifying it with the territory which he had won. But this was but the nucleus of a circle of the like spirit of adventure, radiating from this centre. South of Hebron lay a sacred oracular place, as it would seem, "The oracle," "the city of "books," [3] Debir, Kirjath-sepher. On this too Caleb fixed his heart; and announced that his daughter Achsah should be the reward of the successful assailant. From his own family sprang forth the champion, his nephew or his younger brother Othniel, who won the ancient fortress. And yet again from the same family another claim was put forth. Achsah, worthy of her father and her husband, demands some better heritage than the dry and thirsty frontier of the desert. Underneath the hill on which Debir stood is a deep valley, rich with verdure, from a copious rivulet, which, rising at the crest of the glen, falls, with a continuity unusual in the Judæan hills, down to its lowest depth. On the possession of these upper and lower "bubblings," so contiguous to her lover's prize, Achsah had set her heart. The shyness of the bridegroom to ask, the eagerness of the bride to have, are both put before us. She comes to Othniel's house, seated on her ass, led by her father. She will not enter. According to our Version, she gently descends from her ass: according to the Septuagint, she screams, or she murmurs, from her seat. Her father asks the cause, and then she demands and wins "the blessing" of the green valley; the gushing stream

Kirjath-sepher.

[1] Judg. i. 10: "And Hebron came "forth against Judah." (LXX.)

[2] 1 Sam. xxv. 3: xxx. 14.

[3] Like Byblos afterwards. See Ewald, i. 286.

from top to bottom, which made the dry and barren hill above a rich [1]possession.

On one more enterprise the active spirit of Judah entered. This time we see it not in any individual, but personified in the name of the two ancestors of the kindred tribes, Judah and Simeon. Whoever may have been the chiefs of the tribes thus intended, they aimed at yet one greater prize than all besides, and had almost won the glory which was reserved for their descendant centuries afterwards. Jerusalem, as it would seem for a time, but only for a time, fell into the hands of the warrior tribe. When next it appears, it is still in possession of the old inhabitants. We must not anticipate the future. It is enough to have seen the series of simple and romantic incidents which gave to Judah the desert frontier, the southern fastnesses, and the choice vineyards, which play so large a part in the History of the Jewish, in the imagery of the Christian Church, hereafter.

Assignation of the tribes.

2. The second, or more regular mode of assignment, which, as has been well [2]observed, places the conquest of Palestine, even in that remote and barbarous age, in favourable contrast with the arbitrary caprice by which the lands of England were granted away to the Norman chiefs, was inaugurated, so to speak, by Joshua's quaint but decisive answer to his own tribe of Ephraim, when they claimed more than their due. The apportionment of this great tribe was, in fact, a union of the two principles. One lot, and one only, they were to have;

Ephraim.

[1] Josh. xv. 18; Judg. i. 14. In the former passage, the LXX. makes Achsah (as in the E. V.) the moving cause; in the latter, Othniel. In both, Achsah is represented, not as "lighting off," but as "shouting" or "murmuring" "from the ass." The scene of this incident, was first discovered by Dr. Rosen (*Zeitschrift D. M. G.* 1857, p. 50–64), and under his guidance I saw it in 1862. The word *gulloth* translated "springs," but more properly "waves" or "bubblings," well applies to this beautiful rivulet. The spots are now called *Ain-Nunkur* and *Dewîr-Ban*, about one hour S.W. of Hebron.

[2] Arnold's *Hist. of Rome*, i. 266.

the rest they were to carve out for themselves from the hills and forests of their Canaanite enemies. "Why hast thou "given me but one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing I "am a great people, forasmuch as the Lord hath blessed me "hitherto?" Their public-spirited leader replied:—"If "thou be a great people, get thee up to the wood country, and "cut down for thyself there. The mountain shall be thine, "for it is a wood, and thou shalt cut it down; and the "outgoings shall be thine; for thou shalt drive out the "Canaanites, for they have iron chariots, and 'for' they "[1]are strong." The wild bull or buffalo [2]of the house of Joseph was to guard the north, as the lion of Judah was to guard the [3]south. One half of the tribe of Manasseh, as we have already seen, had that post on the east of the Jordan: the other half, with Ephraim, had the same on the west.

The two great tribes being thus provided, the remaining seven had their property assigned according to the strictest rule of the ancient "assignation."

Benjamin. The warlike little band of Benjamites, which had marched in the desert side by side with the mighty sons of Joseph, was not parted from them in the new settlement. It hung on the outskirts of Ephraim. Thus a group was formed in the centre of Palestine, firmly compacted of the descendants of Rachel, cut off on the north by the broad plain of Esdraelon, and on the south by the precipitous ravine of Hinnom. Hemmed in as it was between the two powerful neighbours of Ephraim and Judah, the tribe of Benjamin, nevertheless, retained a character of its own, eminently indomitable and insubordinate. The wolf which nursed the founders of Rome was not more evidently repeated in the martial qualities of the people of Romulus, than the wolf, to which Benjamin is compared in his father's blessing, appears in the eager,

[1] Josh. xvii. 14–18; Ewald, ii. 315.
[2] Deut. xxxiii. 17.
[3] Josh. xviii. 5.

restless, character of his descendants. "After [1]thee, O Benjamin," was its well-known war cry. It furnished the artillery (so to speak) of the Israelite army, by its archers and [2]slingers. For a short time it rose to the highest rank in the commonwealth, when it gave birth to the first king. Its ultimate position in the nation was altered by the one great change which affected the polarity of the whole political and geographical organisation of the country, but of none more than that of Benjamin, when the fortress of Jebus, hitherto within its territory, was annexed by Judah, and became the capital of the monarchy.

Simeon.

In the wild aspect which Simeon henceforward assumes on the edge of the southern desert, we trace the perpetuation of the fierce temper which had drawn down the curse of Jacob. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the first blow which broke the numbers and the spirit of the tribe was the [3]pestilence that visited the camp after the Midianite orgies, and which would naturally have fallen with peculiar force on Simeon, the tribe of the chief offender; and that this accounts for its total omission, at least in one version, of the blessing of Moses. But this is hardly needed. Simeon is the exact counterpart of Reuben. With Reuben he marched through the desert: with Reuben he is joined in another version of the Mosaic [4]benediction. As Reuben in the east, so Simeon in the west, blends his fortunes with those of the Arab hordes on the frontier, and dwindles away [5]accordingly, and only reappears in the dubious, but characteristic, exploits of his descendant [6]Judith.

Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali.

The four tribes of Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali, obtain contiguous portions in the north of Palestine, as they

[1] Judg. v. 14; Hosea v. 8.
[2] Judg. xx.
[3] Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, 93-98, founded on a comparison of Num. i. 23; xxiv. 1, 14; xxv. 11.
[4] In Deut. xxxiii. 6. In the Alexandrian MS. the reading is, "Let "Reuben live and not die, and let "Simeon be many in number."
[5] 1 Chron. iv. 39-43.
[6] Judith, ix. 2.

were allied in birth, and as they marched through the desert. They formed, as it were, a state by themselves. A common sanctuary seems to have been intended for them in Mount Tabor. The forests of Lebanon, the fertility of the plain of Esdraelon, the port of Accho, even the glassy deposit of the little stream of [1]Belus, figure in the blessings pronounced upon them. But, with the exception of the transient splendour of the days of Barak and of Gideon, they hardly affect the general fortunes of the nation. It is not till the Jewish is on the point of breaking into the Christian Church, that these northern tribes acquire a new interest. "Galilee" then, by the very reason of its previous isolation, springs into overwhelming importance. "The land of Zebulun, the "land of Naphtali, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, "Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness "saw great light, and to those who sat in the region and "shadow of [2]death light is sprung up."

Dan. The last of the tribes that received its due was Dan, the smallest of all,—at times overlooked,—and, in the last catalogue of the tribes that appears in the Sacred [3]volume, dropped out altogether. It was, as it were, squeezed into the narrow strip between the mountains and the sea, in the plain already occupied by the expelled [4]races, as if in the only spot that was left for them. Its energies were great beyond its numbers; and hence, as we shall see in the next generation, it [5]broke out from its narrow territory and won a seat in the distant north, on the [6]confines of Naphtali, with which it appears blended in the later history. There was, indeed, an outlet for its powers on the west; for it held the port of Jaffa, and thither retired "to abide in its [7]ships,"

[1] Gen. xlix. 14; Deut. xxxiii. 18; see *Sinai and Palestine*, 348; Ewald, ii. 379, &c.
[2] Isa. ix.; Matt. iv. 15, 16.
[3] Rev. vii. 4–8.
[4] Judg. i. 34.
[5] Judg. xviii.; see Lecture XIII.
[6] See Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, 119.
[7] Judg. v. 17.

when the surrounding territory was too hot to hold it. But it is characteristic of the essentially inland tendencies of the Israelite nation, that this possession never raised the tribe to any eminence. The privilege of Dan was, that he was to lie in wait for the invader from the south or from the north. "A [1]serpent," an indigenous, home-born "adder," to "bite "the heels" of the invading stranger's horse; a "lion's "[2]whelp," small and fierce, "to leap from the heights of "Bashan," on the armies of Damascus, or Nineveh. "For "thy salvation, O Lord, have I [3]waited," seems to have been his war-cry, as if of a warrior in the constant attitude of expectation. Once, only, in the history of the tribe, so far as we know, was this expectation fully realised,—in the life of Samson.

Levi, alone, had no regular portion. Its original character of a tribe without a fixed home, was preserved. It remained, as we have seen, a monument of the early age of the desert, in which its consecration originated. Four cities were allotted to it in each tribe, if possible (with the exception of the great central sanctuaries of Shiloh and Bethel) the holy places of earlier times. The [4]lands round those cities, however, were not fields for agriculture, but pastures for cattle. The old life was, in their case, never entirely to subside into the new. They were still to keep up,—in their dress, in their separation, in their sacrificial ministrations, in their pastoral employments, in their wild, barbarian habits, an image of the past. In the curses of Jacob there is no distinction drawn between them and the nomadic Simeon. "Cursed be "their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel. "I will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in [5]Israel." The uncompromising zeal, which had first procured their Levi.

[1] Gen. xlix. 17.
[2] Deut. xxxiii. 22.
[3] Gen. xlix. 18.
[4] Joshua, xxi. 2, 12. The word translated "suburbs."
[5] Gen. xlix. 7.

consecration in the wilderness, and which ultimately ensured their perpetuity, even beyond that of any other of the tribes, is just visible here and there in that early period. "They "shall teach Jacob Thy judgments, and Israel Thy law. They "shall put incense before Thee, and whole burnt sacrifice "upon Thine altar. Bless, Lord, his substance, and accept "the work of his hands. Smite through the loins of them "that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they "rise not [1]again." So the brighter side is brought out in the blessing of Moses; but its realisation must be reserved for the change of their position in the altered state of the Jewish Church and nation under the monarchy.

Effects of the conquest.

III. With the conquest of Canaan and the settlement of the tribes, Jewish history entered on a new phase.

Settlement of the nation.

1. The Conquest was the final settlement of the Chosen People as a nation. It was the entrance into the Land of Promise—"Das Gelobte Land"—the oasis of that portion of Asia. From a wandering Arabian tribe, they were now turned into a civilised, and, in a considerable degree, an agricultural commonwealth. The feeling of repose, of enjoyment, of thankfulness, which breathes through the 104th and 105th Psalms, now first became possible. The festivals of the harvest and the vintage, in the Feast of Weeks, and (to a large extent) in the Feast of Tabernacles, were commemorations of this consciousness of permanent possession. "Begin to number the seven weeks from such time as thou "beginnest to put the sickle to the corn. . . . Thou shalt "observe the Feast of Tabernacles seven days, after that "thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine: and thou "shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy "daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and "the Levite, the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, "that are within thy gates . . . in the place which the Lord

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 10, 11.

"shall choose: because the Lord thy God shall bless thee in "all thine increase, and in all the works of thine hands, "therefore thou shalt surely rejoice."[1] The name of one of these feasts, "Pentecost," has passed into our [2]Whitsuntide; the spirit of the other, in many respects, corresponds to our Christmas; and even the spiritual signification of both the Christian festivals might gain from a recollection of the actual enjoyment which marked, and which still marks, those ancient Israelite solemnities. When the modern Jew, in whatever part of the world he may be, puts together the branches in the court of his house, and with his whole family partakes of his meal underneath their shade, it is a literal perpetuation of the gaiety of heart with which his ancestors sate down, each under his fig-tree and his vine, in their newly-acquired homes,—an ever-recurring anniversary of the triumph of the Conquest.

"And when their wondrous march was o'er,
And they had won their homes,
Where Abraham fed his flocks of yore
Among their fathers' tombs:
A land that drinks the rain of heav'n at will,
Where waters kiss the feet of many a vine-clad hill.

"Oft as they watch'd at thoughtful eve
A gale from bowers of balm
Sweep o'er the billowy corn, and heave
The tresses of the palm;
It was a fearful joy, I ween,
To trace the heathen's toil,
The limpid wells, the orchard green,
Left ready for the spoil."[3]

[1] Deut. xvi. 9, 13–15.

[2] The 68th psalm, used in the services of the Christian Church for Whitsunday, forms the Jewish service for Pentecost (Form of prayer according to the custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews).

[3] Keble's *Christian Year*, 3rd S. after Trinity. I have omitted a few lines which contain a slight inaccuracy of expression; but the general feeling is as true to geography as it is to history.

Contest with Canaanites.

2. It was, further, the occupation of a country hitherto inhabited, and still to a great degree, by an alien race. The contest was severe, and its traces still remained. The whole subsequent history, down to the Captivity, was coloured by the wars, by the customs, by the contagion, of Phœnician and Canaanite rites, to which, for good or evil, they were henceforth exposed. It was truly, though on a smaller scale, like the entrance of the Christian Church on the inheritance of the pagan classical world, at the conversion of the Roman empire, at the revival of letters, and, it may be, on the possession of still wider treasures hereafter.

Occupation of the Holy Land.

3. It was the occupation of "the Holy Land,"—the land set apart for the "Holy People." I have described elsewhere what may be called the geographical evidence for the Providence which guided the steps of [1] Israel. By its absolutely unique conformation,—by the unparalleled peculiarity of the Jordan valley,—by its seclusion, through sea, and land, and desert, and river, from the surrounding world,—the country has a mark set upon it, corresponding to those features which have caused the Jews to "dwell alone" among the nations. And yet also its central situation between Assyria and Egypt, and its opening to the Mediterranean, gave it the power of at last bursting its bonds. Its smallness and narrowness gave it the compactness, and, at the same time, the outward insignificance, which, as in the case of Greece, so highly enhances the moral grandeur of the Church and State that rose within its boundaries. And, within these bounds, the variety and diversity of features,—sea, mountain, plains, desert, tropical vegetation, springs, earthquakes, perhaps volcanoes, sharp divisions between one state and another,—made it the fit receptacle of a nation which was to give birth to the Sacred book of all lands; which was to be the parent and like-

[1] *Sinai and Palestine*, ch. ii.

ness of a Church whose name was to be "Catholic," and whose chief distinction was to be its variety of gifts and diversity of character.

Laws of property.

4. From this time, also, for the Israelite commonwealth, sprang up by degrees that state of society for which, as has been often observed, the country was so well suited, and which, in time, so well favoured the growth of individual liberty, of national independence, and of general purity of domestic life. To Joshua, a fixed Jewish tradition ascribed [1]ten decrees, laying down precise rules, which were instituted to protect the property of each tribe, and of each householder, from lawless depredation. Cattle, of a smaller kind, were to be allowed to graze in thick woods, not in thin woods; in woods, no kind of cattle, without the owner's consent. Sticks and branches might be gathered by any Hebrew, but not cut. Herbs, of any kind, might be gathered, with the exception of pease. Woods might be pruned, provided that they were not olives or fruit-trees, and that there was sufficient shade in the place. Each district or town was to have its river and its spring for its own use. Fish might be caught in the Lake of Gennesaret with hooks, but nets or fishing-boats were only to be used by the members of those tribes who lived on its shores. The roads were to be kept free from public nuisance. Any one lost in a vineyard might proceed in it without trespass, till he reached his home. If the roads became impassable they might be left for by-paths. A dead body might be buried wherever found, provided that it were not near or in a town.

Decrees of Joshua.

Jewish householders.

These rules, whatever may be their date, both show the traditional estimate of Joshua, as the founder of the common law of property in Palestine, and also the general framework of society at least in some early period of the history. The

[1] Selden, *De Jure Naturali*, book vi; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 874.

glimpses into the private life of the Jewish householders are naturally so few that we can hardly form any conclusion as to the extent to which the intentions of the Mosaic law and of the settlements of Joshua were carried out. Some instances, however, remain to us in later times, which, bearing as they do on their face every appearance of long-inherited usage, may be fairly taken as samples of the rest. [1]Boaz, the owner of the cornfields of Bethlehem, in the midst of his reapers and gleaners; [2]Nabal, the rich shepherd on the slopes of the southern Carmel; [3]Barzillai, the powerful chief beyond the Jordan, with his patriarchal possessions of sheep and cattle; [4]Naboth, the independent owner of the vineyard on the hill of Jezreel,—all, in their different forms, present the same picture of the established usages in individual and family life; and the reluctance even of kings to break through these usages, and the vehemence with which the Prophets denounce any such attempt on the part either of kings or of nobles, showed the firm hold that the traditions of the Conquest kept on the national mind.

Remains of the conquered races.

IV. The survey of this great event would not be complete without a last glance at the fate of the conquered inhabitants. The disturbed state of the whole subsequent period, reserved for the next Lecture, shows how far less sweeping than at first would appear was the extirpation of the vanquished race. It will be sufficient here briefly to indicate the traces of them which were permanently left in the country.

The usual relation of the conquering and the conquered occupants was, as a general rule, reversed. We find the old inhabitants taking refuge not in the mountains but in the plains: the invaders repelled from the plains, but victorious in the mountains. This, we are expressly [5]told, arose from

[1] Ruth ii. 4.
[2] 1 Sam. xxv. 2.
[3] 2 Sam. xvii. 28.
[4] 1 Kings xxi. 1–3.
[5] Judg. i. 19.

the respective forces of the combatants. The strength of the Canaanites was in their chariots and horses; of the Israelites, in their invincible infantry. In one instance only, the battle of Merom, the victory was won on level ground against the formidable array of Jabin's cavalry. Another resource in the hands of the old inhabitants was the strength of their fortresses. "The cities, great and fenced up to [1]heaven," had always been a subject of alarm to their less civilised invaders; and, though in the first onset some had fallen, yet, after the fervour of the Conquest was passed away, the native inhabitants, especially when on the edge or in the midst of the friendly plains, recovered spirit, and maintained their ground for generations, if not centuries, after the time of Joshua.

Philistine fortresses.

Amongst these the [2]five cities of Philistia, although three of them (Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron) were for a short time in the hands of the Israelites, resisted the attempts of Judah.

Jebus.

The aboriginal Avites also lingered beside them. Jebus, the only instance of a completely mountain fastness which remained untaken, was conspicuous for its defiance of the same great tribe, defended by the steep natural trench of its deep valleys.

The sea coast.

Along the sea coast were all the Phœnician cities from Dor and Accho as far as [3]Zidon, not to speak of Arvad in the farther north. In the plain between Beth-horon and the sea was the little kingdom of [4]Gezer, which remained independent till it was conquered by the king of Egypt, and given as a dowry to Solomon's queen.

Fortresses in Esdraelon.

In the north the strong towns along the plain of [5]Esdraelon held out against even the vigour of Manasseh, though expressly charged with the duty of expelling them, which properly belonged to the less warlike tribes of Issachar and

[1] Deut. i. 28.
[2] Josh. xiii. 2; Judg. i. 21.
[3] Judg. i. 31.
[4] 1 Kings ix. 16; Judg. i. 29.
[5] Judg. i. 27; Josh. xvii. 11–13.

Asher. These were Taanach and Megiddo, the future encampments of Sisera's army; Endor, hence naturally the abode of the witch whom Saul consulted; Ibleam in the same region; Bethshan, with its temple of Astarte, the Jebus of the north, which remained, under the name of Scythopolis, a heathen and Gentile city, even to the Christian era.

On the northern frontier, four remnants of the ancient inhabitants survived both the shock of the invasion of Machir, and also of the battle of Merom. At the source of the Jordan was the Phœnician colony of [1] Laish. Beyond this was the fortress of Maacah. Its situation in the upland plain, above the sources of the Jordan, and thus beyond the actual frontier of Palestine, gave it a natural independence, which was still further sustained by the oracular reputation of the wisdom of its inhabitants. It was known from its position in that well watered plateau as Abel-Beth-Maacah, "the Meadow of the House of [2] Maacah." On the east of the same plateau was the tribe of the [3] Geshurites, ruled by a race of independent kings. Still more remote, but yet within contact of Israel, was the Hivite settlement on Lebanon and round the sanctuary of Baalgad on the sacred heights of [4] Hermon.

Tributary tribes.

These (till David's time) were independent. Others remained either in friendly relations or tributary. Amongst the friendly tribes may be reckoned the Kenites, or Arabian kinsmen of Jethro, in the south and north; the Gibeonites, with the towns in their league; the second Luz, founded by the secret ally who had betrayed the first; and a remnant of Hittites in or near Shechem. Amongst the tributaries were the four comparatively obscure towns of Kitron, Nahalol, [5] Bethshemesh, and Bethanath; and the general population who appear in that capacity in the reign of [6] Solomon.

[1] See Lecture XIII.
[2] Josh. xiii. 13: 2 Sam. xx. 15.
[3] Josh. xiii. 11–13; 2 Sam. xv. 8.
[4] Judg. iii. 3.
[5] *Ibid.* i. 30, 33.
[6] 1 Kings ix. 20, 21.

Less conspicuous vestiges of the Canaanite race may be found in the names of towns, struggling for existence with the new names imposed by the conquerors, — Kirjath-arba with Hebron, Kirjath-sepher with Debir, Kenath with Nobah, Luz with Bethel, Ephratah with Bethlehem; and yet again, in a more striking form, in the few individuals who, from time to time, appear in the service or alliance of the Israelite kings, — Uriah the Hittite, Ittai of Gath, Araunah the Jebusite.

Migration.

That any escaped by migration, is never expressly said, but is so probable, that we may well accept even very slight confirmations of it from other sources. Two traditions are preserved to this effect. When Procopius was in Africa, in the army of Belisarius, two pillars of white marble were pointed out to him near Tangier, bearing an inscription in Phœnician characters, which was thus explained to him: "We "are they that fled from before the face of the robber Joshua, "the son of [1]Nun." The genuineness, or even the antiquity, of the monument may be more than doubtful; but it shows the belief which lingered amongst the remnant of the Phœnician colonies on the coast of Africa. Another story, preserved in Rabbinical legends, represented that when Alexander arrived in Palestine, the Gergesenes, or Girgashites, who had fled to Africa, came to plead their cause before him against the [2]Israelites, for unlawful dispossession. Trivial as these traditions may be in themselves, they have some interest, as showing the last lingering reminiscences — if not in the conquered, at least in the conquerors — of the old race which they had cast out and superseded.

The Capitals.

V. One final effect of this epoch must be noticed, the esta-

[1] Procopius (*Bell. Vand.* ii. 10) supported by Suidas (in voce *Canaan*) and Moses Chorenensis (i. 18). The arguments against the genuineness of this inscription by Kenrick (*Phœnicia*, p. 67), and Ewald (ii. 298), are very strong. But there is no reason to doubt that such a monument was seen by Procopius, and the inscription interpreted to him, as he states. (See Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 381.)

[2] Otho, *Lex Rabb.* 25.

blishment of the first national sanctuary, and the first national capital in Palestine. Bethel — which by its sacred name and associations would have been naturally chosen — was, at this early stage of the Conquest, still in the hands of the Canaanites. Shiloh, therefore, became and remained the seat of the Ark till the establishment of the monarchy; and thus was, as long as it lasted, a memorial of the peculiar accidents of the Conquest in which it first originated. The general appearance of the sanctuary and its ultimate fate belong to the ensuing period of the history. But the selection of the site belongs to this period, and could belong to no other. The place of the sanctuary was naturally fixed by the place of the Ark. This, as we have seen, was, in the first instance, Gilgal. But, as the conquerors advanced into the interior, a more central situation became necessary. This was found in a spot unmarked by any natural features of strength or beauty, or by any ancient recollections; recommended only by its comparative seclusion, near the central thoroughfare of Palestine, yet not actually upon it. Its ancient Canaanite [1] name seems to have been Taanath. The title of "Shiloh" was probably given to it, in token of the "rest" which the weary conquerors found in its quiet valley.

Shiloh.

But Shiloh — although it succeeded to Gilgal as the Holy Place of the Holy Land, and although from thence was made the survey and apportionment of the territory — was intended only as a temporary halt. It was still not the city, but the "camp of [2] Shiloh." The spot which the conquerors fixed as the capital was Shechem, the ancient city before which Jacob had first encamped, and now the centre of the great tribe of Ephraim, the tribe of Joshua himself. When he first arrived at this his future home, is uncertain. In the [3] variations of the Hebrew and Septuagint texts, we may be

Shechem.

[1] Josh. xvi. 6; xviii. 1. This is the view of Kurtz (ii. 70).

[2] Judg. xxi. 12.

[3] In the Received Text he arrives immediately after the fall of Jericho; in the LXX. after the fall of Ai; in Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 19, 20), at the close of his life.

allowed to follow the guidance of Josephus, and connect the celebration of this marked event in his life with its closing scenes, which unquestionably took place in that most beautiful of all the sites of Western Palestine. In that central valley of the hills of Ephraim, which commands the view of the Jordan valley on the east, and the sea on the west—a complete draught through the heart of the country—was the fit seat of the house of Joseph, the ancient portion of their ancestor, given by Jacob himself. Here were the two sacred mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, marked out for the curses and blessings of the Law. From the lower spurs of those hills, all but meeting across the narrowest part of the valley, those curses and blessings were first chanted, and the loud Amen from the vast multitudes below echoed back by the surrounding hills. Ebal stretching along the northern side of the valley became, as its many rock-hewn tombs still indicate, the necropolis of the new settlement. Gerizim, the oldest sanctuary in Palestine, reaching back even to the days of Abraham and Melchizedek, became the natural shelter of the capital. From its steep sides and slopes burst forth the thirty-two springs which have filled the valley with a mass of living verdure. Here the two tribes of the house of Joseph deposited, at last, the sacred burden they had borne with them through the wilderness,—the Egyptian coffin containing the embalmed body of Joseph himself, to be buried in the rich corn-fields which his father had given to the favourite son of his favourite Rachel.[1]

This was "the border of the sanctuary, the [2]mountain "which the right hand of God had purchased," for the tribe which now through its victorious leader stood foremost

[1] For Shechem (now Nablûs), see *Sinai and Palestine*, ch. V., Dr. Rosen (*Zeitschrift Deutsch. Morg. Gesellschaft*, xiv. 634), Mr. Grove, "Nablûs and the Samaritans" (in *Vacation Tourists*, 1861).

[2] Ps. lxxviii. 54.

amongst them all, and which henceforth retained its supremacy till it [1]fell, in the fall, though but for a time, of the nation itself. How closely the grandeur of Ephraim, and the selection of this seat of their power are connected with the career of Joshua, may be seen from the fact that he alone of all the Jewish heroes after the time of Moses, is enshrined in the traditions of the Samaritan. He is "King Joshua": he takes up his abode on the "Blessed Mountain," as Gerizim is always called; on its summit are still pointed out the twelve stones which he laid in order: he builds a citadel on the adjacent site of Samaria: he confers once a week with the high priest Eleazar: he leaves his power to his son Phinehas, and in this confusion the history of Israel abruptly [2]terminates. But the connexion of Joshua with Shechem and with Ephraim, though more soberly, is not less clearly marked in the Sacred narrative. He appears there as the representative of his tribe; yet, as we have seen, checking that overbearing pride which at last caused their ruin. Beneath the old consecrated oak of Abraham and [3]Jacob, of which the memory still lingers in a secluded corner of the valley, under the north-eastern flank of Gerizim, he made his farewell address and set up there the pillar which long [4]remained as his memorial. In and around Shechem arose the first national burial place, a counterpoise to the patriarchal supulchres at Hebron. Joseph's tomb was already fixed: its reputed site is visible to this day. A [5]tradition, current at the time of the Christian era, ascribed the purchase of this tomb to Abraham, and included within it the

Joshua.

His farewell.

His grave.

[1] Lecture XVII.

[2] *Samaritan Joshua*, chaps. 24, 42.

[3] Josh. xxiv. 26.

[4] *Ibid.* 27; Judg. ix. 6, 37. This spot, called in Gen. xii. 6, and xxxv. 4, "*Allon-Moreh*," "the oak of Moreh" or of Shechem, is called by the Samaritans *Ahron-Moreh*, "the Ark of Moreh," from a supposition that in a vault underneath is buried the Ark. The Mussulmans call it "Rigad *el Amad*," "the place *of the pillar*," or "Sheykh-*el-Amad*," "the saint of *the pillar*."

[5] Acts vii. 15, 16.

remains, not only of Joseph, but of the twelve Fathers of the Jewish tribes, and of Jacob himself. [1]Eleazar was buried in the rocky sides of a hill which bore the name of his more famous son, Phinehas, who was himself, doubtless, interred in the same sepulchre. It is described as being in the mountains of Ephraim, and is pointed out by Samaritan tradition on a height immediately east of Gerizim. The grave of Joshua has been by the Mussulmans claimed for a far distant spot. On the summit of the Giant's Hill, overlooking the Bosphorus and the Black Sea, his vast tomb is shown, with the gigantic proportions in which Orientals delight. But the reverence of his own countrymen cherished the remembrance of it with a more accurate knowledge, in the inheritance which had been given to him — as though he were a sole tribe in himself — in Timnath-serah, or, [2]Heres, "on the north side of the hill of Gaash;" and in the same grave (according to a very ancient tradition) were buried the stone [3]knives used in the ceremony of circumcision at Gilgal, which were long sought out as relics by those who came in after years to visit the tomb of their mighty Deliverer.

[1] Josh. xxiv. 33. His tomb is still shown in a charming little close overshadowed by venerable terebinths, at *Awertah*, a few miles S.E. of Nablûs.

[2] *Ibid.* xix. 44–50; xxiv. 30. A Rabbinical tradition supposes it to be called *Heres*, from an image of the sun to commemorate the battle of Beth-horon. But it is probably only the transposition of the letters of Serah.

[3] Josh. xxiv. 29 (LXX.). The spot is not known with certainty, but is probably in the hills southwards of Shechem. See Ritter's *Palestine*, iii. 563, 564.

THE JUDGES.

XIII. ISRAEL UNDER THE JUDGES.

XIV. DEBORAH.

XV. GIDEON.

XVI. JEPHTHAH AND SAMSON.

XVII. THE FALL OF SHILOH.

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES FOR THIS PERIOD.

1. (*a*) The Book of Judges; the Book of Ruth; 1 Sam. i.—vii. (Hebrew and LXX.). (*b*) Ps. lxxviii. 56—66; lxxxiii. 9—12; Isa. ix. 4; x. 26; xxviii. 21; Jer. vii. 12; xxvi. 6; Ecclus. xlvi. 11—20; Heb. xi. 32—34.

2. The Jewish Traditions preserved in Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2—vi. 1), and the Jewish Chronicle Seder Olam (c. 11, 12, 13).

3. The Heathen Traditions (Sanchoniathon? in Eus. *Præp. Ev.* i. 9).

THE JUDGES.

LECTURE XIII.

ISRAEL UNDER THE JUDGES.

Characteristics of the period.

We are now arrived at the last stage of the first period of the history of the Chosen People. We have seen the nation of slaves turned into a nation of freemen in the deliverance from Egypt. We have seen them become the depositaries of a new religion in Mount Sinai. We have seen them in their first flush of conquest in the Promised Land. We have now to see the gradual transition from their primitive state, and to track them through the interval between the death of Joshua and the rise of Samuel — between the establishment of the sanctuary at Shiloh on the first occupation of the country, and its final overthrow by the Philistines.

The characteristics of this period are such as especially invite our critical and historical inquiries. Other portions of Scripture may be more profitable "for doctrine, for correc-"tion, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness;" but for merely human interest — for the lively touches of ancient manners — for the succession of romantic incidents — for the consciousness that we are living face to face with the persons described — for the tragical pathos of events and characters — there is nothing like the history of the Judges from Othniel to Eli. No portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, whether by its actual date or by the vividness of its representations, brings us so near to the times described; and on none has

more light been thrown by the German scholar, to whose investigations we owe so much in the study of the Older Dispensation. It would seem, if one may venture to say so, as if the Book of Judges had been left in the Sacred Books, with the express view of enforcing upon us the necessity which we are sometimes anxious to evade, of recognising the human, national, let us even add, barbarian element which plays its part in the sacred history. In other portions of the Hebrew annals, the Divine character of the Revelation is so constantly before us, or the character of the human agents reaches so nearly to the Divine, that we may, if we choose, almost forget that we are reading of men of like passions with ourselves. But in the history of the Judges, the whole tenor of the book, especially of its concluding chapters, renders this forgetfulness impossible. The angles and roughnesses of the sacred narrative, which elsewhere we endeavour to smoothe down into one uniform level, here start out from the surface too visibly to be overlooked by the most superficial observer. Like the rugged rock which, to this day, breaks the platform of the Temple area at Jerusalem, and reminds us of the bare natural features of the mountain that must have protruded themselves into the midst of the magnificence of Solomon, — so the Book of Judges recalls our thoughts from the ideal, which we imagine of past and of sacred ages, and reminds us by a rude shock, that, even in the heart of the Chosen People, even in the next generation after Joshua, there were irregularities, imperfections, excrescences, which it is the glory of the Sacred Historian to have recorded faithfully, and which it will be our wisdom no less faithfully to study.

"In those days [1] there was no king in Israel, but every man

[1] Judg. xvii. 6; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 25.

"did that which was right in his own eyes." "In those "days there was no king in Israel." "It came to pass in those "days when there was no king in Israel." "In those days "there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was "right in his own eyes." This sentence, thus frequently and earnestly repeated, is the keynote of the whole book. It expresses the freedom, the freshness, the independence — the license, the anarchy, the disorder, of the period. It tells us that we are in a period of transition, gradually drawing near to that time when there will be a "king in Israel," when there will be "peace on all sides round about him, "Judah and Israel dwelling safely, every man under his "vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan unto Beer-"sheba." But meantime the dark and bright sides of the history shift with a rapidity unknown in the latter times of the story — "The children of Israel did evil in the sight of the "Lord," and "The children of Israel cried unto the [1] Lord." Never was there a better instance than in these two alternate sentences, ten times repeated, that we need not pronounce any age entirely bad or entirely good.

Outward struggles.

I. First, then, look at the outward relations of the country. The Conquest was over, but the upheavings of the conquered population still continued. The ancient inhabitants, like the Saxons under the Normans, still retained their hold on large tracts, or on important positions throughout the country. The neighbouring powers still looked on the new comers as an easy prey to incursion and devastation, if not to actual subjugation. Against these enemies, both from without and from within—but chiefly from within, a constant struggle had to be maintained; with all the dangers, adventures, and trials incident to such a state — a war of independence such as was not to occur again till the struggle of the

[1] Judg. ii. 4, 11, 18, 19; iii. 7, 9, 12, 15; iv. 1, 3; vi. 1, 7; x. 6, 10; xiii. 1.

Maccabees against the Greek kings, or even of the last insurgents against the Romans. A glance at the first chapter of the Book of Judges will show in a moment the motley, particoloured character which Palestine must have presented after the death of Joshua. Nearly the whole of the [1]seacoast, all the strongholds in the rich plain of Esdraelon, and, in the heart of the country the invincible fortress of Jebus, were still in the hands of the unbelievers. Every one of these spots was a focus of disaffection, a bone of contention, a natural field of battle. Or look at the relations of conquerors and conquered as they appear in the story of [2] Abimelech. The insurrection, which then was nearly successful, of the ancient Shechemites — the "sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem"—reveals the fires which must have been smouldering everywhere throughout the land, and which would have broken out more frequently had the government oftener fallen into worthless hands. Or look at the migration of the sons of Dan. It is like the story of the whole nation epitomised over again in the portion of a single tribe. "In those days the tribe of the Danites sought "them an inheritance to [3]dwell in." They were still unprovided. Spies were sent forth, as formerly by Moses and by Joshua. They return with the account of a land "very good," "a place where there is no want of anything;" and their kinsmen follow their guiding. They leave the trace of their encampment on their [4]road, like a second Gilgal, and they track the Jordan to its source, and, in the secluded corner under Mount Hermon, fall on the easternmost of the Phœnician colonies, and establish themselves in that beautiful and fertile spot, with a sanctuary of their own, and a priesthood of their own, during the whole period of which we are speaking.

Continuation of the Conquest.

[1] See Lecture XII.
[2] See Lecture XV.
[3] Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 1–31.
[4] Judg. xiii. 25; xviii. 12.

Slowly, gradually, the dominion of the Chosen People was left to work its way. First, they repel distant invaders from Mesopotamia. This is the special work of the Lion of the tribe of Judah — of the last hero of the old generation. Then, under Deborah and Barak, they encounter the final rising of the [1] Canaanites. The battle of Merom is repeated over again by the waters of Megiddo. In that central conflict of the period, Israel and Canaan met together for the last time face to face in battle. Then follows the most trying invasion to which the country had been ever [2] subjected — the wild Midianite hordes from the desert. How great was the crisis, is proved by the greatness of the champion who was called forth to resist it. In Gideon and his family we see the nearest approach to a king that this epoch produces. Finally, they are brought into collision with the new enemies — the race of strangers — who, as it would seem, had barely settled in Palestine at the time of the first conquest — the [3] "Philistines" — and amidst the death struggle with them under Samson, Eli, and Samuel, ends this period of the history. Successive conflicts.

It was a hard discipline; it must have checked the progress of arts, of civilization, of refinement. But it was the fitting school through which they were to pass. It was the formation of the military character of the people. It prepared the way for the inauguration of the new name by which, in the next period of their history, God would be called — the "Lord of Hosts." Though a succession of failures, they stumbled into perfection. Amidst these struggles for independence was nourished no less a youth than that of David. "Therefore the "Lord left those nations, without driving them out hastily": to prove "Israel by them; even as many as had not known "the wars of Canaan; only that the generations of Israel might Military discipline of the nation.

[1] See Lecture XIV.
[2] See Lecture XV.
[3] See Lecture XVI.

"know to teach them war, at the least such as before knew "nothing [1]thereof." Without this discipline, they might have sunk into mere Phœnician settlements, like the "people "of Laish, [2]dwelling careless, after the manner of the "Zidonians, quiet and secure," having no business with any man, "in a large land, where there was no want of anything "that is in the earth." Like their Phœnician neighbours, like their own descendants in later times, they might have become a mere nation of merchants: "Dan would have "abode in his ships, and Asher would have remained in his "creeks by the seashore," and not "a shield or spear would "have been seen amongst forty thousand in Israel." But their spirit rose to the emergencies. Faithful tribes, like Zebulun and Naphtali, were always found amongst the faithless, ready to jeopardise their lives for the nation. Reversing the Prophetic visions of an ideal future, their pruning-hooks were turned into spears, and their ploughshares into swords. They had "files to sharpen their coulters, their [3]mattocks, and their goads;" and Shamgar, the son of Anath, came with his rude ox-goad, and Samson with his quaint devices — the jawbone of an ass, and the firebrands at the tails of jackals — devastating the country of their enemies.

II. But it is chiefly in their internal relations that this transitional state appears. "There was no king in Israel," no fixed capital, no fixed sanctuary, no fixed government. It was a heptarchy, a dodecarchy, of which the supremacy passed, as in the early ages of our own country, first to one tribe and then to another.

Internal disorder.

Even in a religious point of view, now one, now another place presents itself as the rallying point of the nation. The sacred solitary palm-tree, was the spot to [4]which at one time the children of Israel came up for judge-

[1] Judg. ii. 23; iii. 1, 2.
[2] *Ibid.* xviii. 7—9.
[3] 1 Sam. xiii. 21.
[4] See Lecture XIV.

ment. Another was the sanctuary [1] of Micah, visited as an oracle by wandering travellers and pilgrims. A third was the green [2] sward on the broad summit of Tabor, the gathering place of the northern tribes. A fourth was the little capital of the northern Dan, already mentioned, beside the sources of the Jordan. Doubtless amidst all these variations, the national feeling still turned chiefly to two spots, the old primeval stone or structure called "the House of God" — "Bethel;" the other, the modern sanctuary of Shiloh, set up by Joshua. But even these were tokens of division and independence. At the close of the period, the High Priesthood, the one great office which had been bequeathed by the Mosaic age, appears at Shiloh. But in its earlier years, we find it established at Bethel, and the Ark itself, as if suffering in the general disintegration of the people, reposed not within the sacred tent of Shiloh, but within the primitive sanctuary of Bethel.

In like manner, no one tribe exercises undisputed pre-eminence. Ephraim, on the whole, retains the primacy, but not exclusively. Judah, after the death of Othniel, disappears almost entirely. "There was no king in Israel," there was no succession of Prophets. Long blanks occur in the history, of which we know nothing. From time to time deliverers were raised up, as occasion called, and the Spirit of the Lord came upon them; and again, on their death, the central bond was broken, and the thread of the history is lost. The office, which gives its name to the period, well describes it. It was occasional, irregular, uncertain, yet gradually tending to fixedness and perpetuity. Its title is itself expressive. The Ruler was not regal, but he was more than the mere head of a tribe, or the mere judge of special cases. We have to seek for the origin of

The office of "The Judges."

[1] Lecture XIII.

[2] Lectures XIV. XV.

the name not amongst the Sheykhs of the Arabian desert, but amongst the civilised settlements of Phœnicia. *Shofet* — [1] Shofetim, the Hebrew word which we translate "Judge," is the same as we find in the "Suffes," [2] "Suffetes," of the Carthaginian rulers at the time of the Punic Wars. As afterwards the office of "king" was taken from the nations round about, so now if not the office, at least the name of "judge" or "shofet," seems to have been drawn from the Canaanitish cities with which for the first time Israel came into contact. It is the first trace of the influence of the Syrian usages on the fortunes of the Chosen People, the first fruits of the Pagan inheritance to which the Jewish and the Christian Church has succeeded. Gradually the office so formed consolidates itself. Of Othniel, Ehud, and Shamgar, we know not whether they ruled beyond the limits of the special crisis which called them forth. But in Deborah and Gideon we see the indications of a rule for life. In Gideon, we find the attempt at a regular monarchy made and rejected, yet still virtually maintained in his lifetime, and formally revived, after his death, by his son Abimelech. In the succession of obscure rulers who follow, the hereditary principle has established itself. Sons and grandsons inherit, if not the power, at least the pomp and state of their father and grandfather.[3] And, finally, the two offices, which in the earlier years of this period had remained distinct — the High Priest and the Judge — were united in the person of Eli; and Samuel, who acted as the interpreter between the old and the new order of his people, had actually transmitted the office by hereditary succession to his sons, and they for the first time appear exercising those

[1] Josephus (*c. Apion*, i. 21) describes judges (δικασταί) as succeeding to the Tyrian kings.

[2] Liv. xxx. 7; xxviii. 37. In xxxiii. 46, xxxiv. 61 they are called "judices." The office most nearly corresponding to it in the West was that of "Æsymnetes" in Greek history. See Aristotle, *Politics* iii. 9, § 5, iv. 8, § 2.

[3] Judg. x. 3, 4; xii. 8—14.

"judicial"[1] functions which alone are expressed in the modern translation of *Shophet* into "Judge."

Phœnician influences.

III. In connection with this Phœnician origin of the name of these rulers, other customs, as might be expected from the near neighbourhood, now first appear, in every shade of good and evil, from the same source. The temptations to idolatry are no longer of the same kind as in Mesopotamia, or in Egypt. Two forms of worship rise above all others, — the two Phœnician deities, Baal and Astarte, — as seducing the Israelites from their allegiance, marked everywhere by the image and altar, or the grove of olive or ilex round the sacred rock or stone on which the altar was erected. Relics of such worship continued long afterwards in the names, probably derived from this period, both of places and persons. Everywhere throughout the land lingered the traces of the old idolatrous sanctuaries — Baal-Gad, Baal-Hermon, Baal-Tamar, Baal-Hazor, Baal-Judah, Baal-Meon, Baal-Perazim, Baal Shalisha, like the memorials of Saxon heathenism, or of mediæval superstition, which furnish the nomenclature of so many spots in our own country. And even in families, as in that of Saul,[2] we find that the title of the Phœnician god appears, as in the names so common in Tyre and Carthage — Maherbal, Hannibal, Asdrubal.

The name of Baal.

The worship of Baal Berith.

But the most distinct and peculiar mark of the Phœnician worship at this time — and not unnaturally adopted in the license given to every form of independent organization and association — is that of cities congregated in leagues round such a temple of Baal, hence called[3] *Baal Berith*, "Baal "of the League;" as in the combination of Tyre, Sidon, and Arvad to found Tripolis, as in the Carthaginian settlements

[1] 1 Sam. viii. 3. 1 Chron. viii. 30, 33, 34.

[2] Baal, Eshbaal, and Meribbaal,

[3] See Ewald, ii. 445; Lecture XV.

which in Sicily formed themselves round the Temple of Astarte at Eryx, as in the Canaanitish League of Gibeon. The chief instance of it is the League of Shechem and Thebez round the Temple of the League at Shechem, under the half-Canaanite king Abimelech, the first organized form of Canaanite polity and worship within the precincts of Israel.

Phœnician vows.

Another practice, which falls in with the wild usages of the time, has also a direct affinity with Phœnician customs — the frequent use of vows. One memorable instance of a Phœnician vow, has been handed down to us, so solemn in its origin, so grand in its consequences, that even the vows of the most sacred ages need not fear comparison with it. The impulse from his early oath which nerved the courage and patriotism of Hannibal from childhood to age in his warfare against Rome, may well be taken as an illustration of the feeling which, in its highest and noblest forms, led to the consecration of Samson and Samuel, and in its unauthorised excesses, to the rash vows, of the whole nation against the tribe of Benjamin, of Jephthah against his daughter, of Saul against Jonathan. These spasmodic efforts after self-restraint, are precisely what we should expect in an age which had no other mode of steadying its purposes amidst the general anarchy in which it was enveloped, and accordingly in that age they first appear, and within its limits expire.

Primitive simplicity of life.

IV. But whatever traces there may be of foreign influence, the heart of the people and their manners remained essentially Israelite, and the disorders of the time breathe always the air rather of the desert than of the city. We see the princes and the judges riding in state on their asses, the asses of the Bedouin tribe, abhorred of Egypt. "Speak, ye that ride on she asses, dappled with white," is the address

[1] See Arnold's *Rome*, iii. 33.

of Deborah to the victorious chiefs returning from battle. The thirty sons of Jair ride on their thirty ass colts, which the play [1] on the word connects with their thirty cities. As in the wilderness, the assemblies of the people are still gathered by the fresh springs or the running streams. "At "[2] the places," or "amongst the companies of the drawing "of water, are rehearsed the righteous acts of the Lord." "By the streams of Reuben are the divisions and searchings "of heart." Tents may still be seen beside the settled habitations. The Arab Kenites still linger in the south. A settlement of the same tribe is planted far north also, under the ancient oak, called from their encampment [3] "the "oak of the unloading of tents," and underneath the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber, every Bedouin custom was as purely preserved as in the time of Abraham. The sanctuary of Shiloh itself was still a tent; or rather, according to the Rabbinical representations which have every appearance of truth, a low structure of stones with a tent drawn over it, exactly like the Bedouin village, an intermediate stage between a mere collection of tents and a fixed precinct of buildings. And although a city grew round it, and a stone gateway rose in front of it, yet it still retained its name of the "*camp* of Shiloh;" and the sanctuary was only known as the "*tabernacle* or *tent* that God had pitched [4] among "men."

Accordingly the whole period breathes a primitive simplicity which peculiarly belongs both to the crimes and the virtues of this earliest stage of the occupation of Canaan. The Book of Judges closes with three pictures, of which the two first, at least, appear to have been inserted with the express purpose, so unusual in the sacred history,—so

[1] Judg. x. 4.
[2] *Ibid.* v. 11, 15, 16.
[3] See Lecture XIV.
[4] Mishna (Surenhusius) vol. v. 59; Seder Olam, c. 11. Ps. lxxviii. 61. See Lecture XVII.

unusual, one may add, in any history, till within the most recent times,—of giving an insight into what we should call the state of society in Judæa. How precious to us would be any details of the private life and incidental customs of Greece or Rome, equal to what are afforded in the stories of Micah, of the war with Benjamin, and of Ruth! Though appended to the close of the book, they form, both by their style and by the actual order of the events which they relate, its natural [1] preface.

The story of the Danites and Micah.

1. Take the expedition of the Danites. They start, as we have seen, once more to seek new settlements—they track the Jordan to its source, and then mark out for their prey the easy colonists from Sidon in the rich and beautiful seclusion of that loveliest of the scenes of Palestine. It is the exact likeness of the Frankish or Norman migrations, reopening the path of conquest and discovery, when it had seemed all closed and ended with the final settlement of Europe. And still more characteristic is the incident which is interwoven with their expedition, and which opens another vista into the mingled superstition and religion which swayed the feelings of the time. We are introduced to the house of Micah, on the ridge of the hills of Ephraim; we hear the frank disclosure of Micah to his mother, how he was the thief who had carried off her shekels—and we see the mother's grateful dedication of her restored property. Their isolation from the central worship of Palestine soon manifests itself. The house becomes a castle; and not only a castle, but a temple. Like the sanctuary of Shiloh itself, it stands in a court, entered by a spacious gateway. Round about it gather houses of those who take a common interest in this worship, and a caravanserai for strangers. Within is a chamber, called "the House of God," and in this chamber are two silver images, one sculptured,

The Sanctuary.

[1] This arrangement is actually adopted by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2, § 8–12; 3, § 1).

one molten, clothed[1] in a mask and priestly mantle, so as to represent as nearly as possible the Priestly Oracle at Shiloh. And when we inquire further into the worship of this little sanctuary, still stranger scenes disclose themselves. The five Danite warriors, as they pass by, and lodge in the caravanserai, are arrested by the sound of a well known voice. It is the voice of a Levite of Bethlehem, whom they had known whilst in their southern settlement. They ask him, "Who brought "thee hither? and what makest thou in this place? and "what hast thou here?" They ask him, and we, with our precise notions of Levitical ritual, may well ask him too. He tells his own wild story. He, like them, had been a wanderer for a better home than he found in the little village of Bethlehem. He, like them, had halted by the house of Micah, on the ridge of Ephraim; and the superstition of Micah and the interest of the Levite combined. The one, like many a feudal noble, was eager to secure the services and sanction of a regular chaplain for his new establishment. The other, like many a feudal priest, was willing to secure "ten shekels "of silver by the year, and a suit of apparel, and his victuals." So the Levite went in, and "was content to dwell with the man," was unto him as one of his sons; and Micah consecrated the Levite, and the young man became his priest, and occupied one of the[2] dwellings by the house of Micah. Then said Micah, "Now know I that the Lord will do me "good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest."

But as the story unravels itself, still further does it lead us into the manners and the spirit of the time. The same feelings which had prompted Micah to secure the

[1] Judg. xvii. 4. Of these two images, one (apparently as large as a man, 1 Sam. xix. 16), from its mask, was called *Teraphim*, from its mantle *Ephod*. Such images were used as oracles, Zech. x. 2, and as appurtenances of public worship, Hos. iii. 4; and the custom was finally put down by Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 24 (See Ewald, *Alterth.* 256—8).

[2] Judg. xviii. 15.

wandering treasure, were shared by the Danite warriors, who had recognized in him their old acquaintance. They had received his blessing on their enterprise as they passed by on their first expedition. They suggested to their countrymen, on their advance to accomplish their design, that here was the religious sanction which alone they needed to render it successful. "Do ye know," they said as they approached the well known cluster of houses on the hill side—"Do ye know that there is in these houses an ephod, and "teraphim, and a graven image, and a molten image? Now "therefore consider what ye have to do." In the centre of the settlement rose the house of Micah, and at its gateway was the dwelling of the Levite. By the gateway the six hundred armed warriors stood conversing with their ancient neighbour, whilst the five men stole up the rocky court, and into the little chapel, and fetched away the images with teraphim and ephod; and, long before they were discovered, were far along their northern route. The priest has raised his voice against the theft for a moment. "What do ye?" But there is a ready bribe. "Hold thy peace, lay thine hand "upon thy mouth, and go with us; and be to us a father "and a priest: is it better for thee to be a priest unto the "house of one man, or that thou become a priest unto a tribe "and family in [1] Israel?".

The theft of the relics.

"Hold thy peace, lay thine hand upon thy mouth"—so almost in the same words was the like bribe offered by one of the greatest religious houses of England to the monk who guarded the shrine of one of the most sacred relics in the adjacent cathedral of Canterbury.—"Give us the portion "of S. Thomas's skull which is in thy custody, and thou shalt "cease to be a simple monk; thou shalt be Abbot of S. Augus-"tine's."[2] As Roger accepted the bait in the twelfth century

[1] Judg. xviii. 14—19.

[2] Thorne's Chronicle, 1176.

after the Christian era, so did the Levite of Micah's house in the fifteenth century before it. "And the priest's heart was glad, "and he took the ephod, and the teraphim, and the graven "image, and went in the midst of the people." The theft was so adroitly managed, that the soldiers were far away before Micah and his neighbours overtook them, and uttered a wail of grief and rage. The whole neighbourhood had a common interest in the sanctuary; and Micah, in particular, felt that his importance was gone. "Ye have taken away "my gods which I made, and the priest, and ye are "gone away; and what have I more?" But they are too strong for him, and they advance to the easy conquest which gives them their new home.

The Sanctuary at Dan.

In the biography of this one Levite, thus accidentally, as it were, brought to view, we have a sample of the darker side of his tribe, as brought out in the curse of Jacob — "I "will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel" — lending himself to the highest bidder, to Micah first for ten shekels a year and food and clothing, to the Danites afterwards, that he might become a Priest of a tribe and family in Israel rather than to the house of one man. He had his reward; he became a Father and Patriarch to the new commonwealth. Under his auspices on the green hill by the sources of the Jordan a new sanctuary was established; the graven image remained there undisturbed during the whole period of the Judges, "all the time that "the House of God was in Shiloh;" and he and his sons, founded a long line of Priests, for the same period, "Priests "to the tribe of Dan until the day[1] of the captivity of the "land." And who was this stranger Levite? this founder of a schismatical worship? Was he of some obscure family, that might be thought to have escaped the higher influences

[1] 1 Judg. xviii. 30, 31. For these expressions, see Lecture XVII.

of the age? So from the larger part of the narrative, so from the dexterous alteration of the text by later copyists in the one passage which reveals the secret, it might have been inferred. But that one passage, according to the reading of several Hebrew manuscripts, and of the Vulgate, and according to an ancient Jewish tradition, and to the almost certain conjecture both of Kennicott and of Ewald, tells us who he was:—"Jonathan, the son of Gershom,—the son"—not, as we now read of [1] Manasseh, but "of Moses." Whether it was from the general laxity of the time, or from the obscurity which throughout envelopes the family of the great lawgiver, there can be little doubt that this type of the wandering, ambitious, lawless Priest of this and so many after ages, was no less than the grandson of the Prophet Moses. What Jewish copyists have done here by endeavouring to change the honoured name of Moses into the hated name of Manasseh, is what has been often attempted in the later history of the church, by endeavouring to conceal, or to palliate, the excesses or errors or irregularities of the inferior successors of noble predecessors. Let the story of the grandson of Moses be at once an illustration of the fact, and a warning to us not to make too much of it. A profligate and heretical Pope in a profligate or heretical age, a turbulent or timeserving Reformer in a turbulent or timeserving age, are not of such importance for the succeeding or preceding history, as that we should be very eager either to conceal or to affirm the fact of their existence. Each age has its own errors and sins to bear. Jonathan the son of Gershom, and the long succession of the priesthood which he transmitted, are indeed illustrative of the time to which they belonged, are exact

The grandson of Moses.

[1] Judg. xviii. 30. The word *Mosch* is in the Hebrew text, by the insertion of a single letter, turned into *Manasseh*. In 1 Chron. xxiii. 15, 16, occurs *Shebuel*, son of Gershom, son of Moses. —Jerome (*Qu. Heb. ad l.*) says that he was Micah's Levite. (See *Dict. of Bible*, "Jonathan," "Manasseh.")

likenesses of what has occurred again and again in like confusions of the Christian Church, — but prove nothing beyond themselves, and need not either be kept out of sight, on the one hand, or made into standing arguments, on the other hand, against the Church which, for the time, they represented.

The story of the war of Benjamin.

2. No less characteristic of the good and evil of the period is the story of the war of the eleven tribes against their brother Benjamin for the outrage committed by the inhabitants of Gibeah. Here, again, is a roving Levite of irregular life. Every step of his journey shows us a glimpse of the state of the country. His father-in-law entertains him with true Arabian hospitality, day after day, night after night. Amidst the shadows of the evening, "when the day "is far spent," we see the towers of "Jebus which is Jeru-"salem," still in the hands of the Canaanites. The apprehension of the travellers as they find themselves overtaken by darkness is exactly that which still attends the fall of night in any country where the unsettled state of the government makes itself felt in robbers and outlaws. Outside the town of Gibeah, in the open space beneath the walls, on what in the "Arabian Nights" are so often called "the mounds," the little band encamps. Then comes the aged countryman from the fields, and the dark crime which follows, and the ferocious summons of the whole people to vengeance by the signal of the [1] divided bones of the outraged woman. Both the atrocity and the indignation which it excites belong alike to the primitive stage of a people, when, as the historian observes, *tanto acrior apud*

[1] Judg. xix. 29. A like summons is issued within this same period, 1 Sam. xi. 7. A similar incident is said to have occurred recently in the tribes near Damascus. An Arab woman having been accused of unchastity by another, was killed by her father, who then tore her body open in the presence of the tribe, and found that she was innocent. The slanderer was then judged. Her tongue was cut out, and she was hewn into small pieces, which were sent all over the desert.

majores ut virtutibus gloria, ita flagitiis pœnitentia. There is nothing in later times like the original outrage. But neither is there anything in later times like the universal burst of horror. "We will not any of us go to his "tent, neither will we any of us turn into his house; but now "this shall be the thing which we will do unto Gibeah . . . "according to the folly that they have wrought in Israel. "So all the men of Israel were gathered together against "the city, knit together as one man." There are many wars in Israel after this, civil and foreign, but none breathing so ardent a spirit of zeal, excessive, extravagant zeal it may be, against moral evil. As in the former story, so here, we meet with one who had known the old generation. As before it was the grandson of Moses, so here it is the grandson of Aaron. But Phinehas the son of Eleazar, was made of sterner and better stuff than Jonathan the son of Gershom. He was "before the Ark in those days," and in the fierce, unyielding, yet righteous desire for vengeance which animated the whole people, we seem to see the same spirit which appeared when, in the matter of Baal-Peor, "Phi-"nehas arose and executed judgment, and that was counted "unto him for righteousness among all generations for ever-"more;" "because he was zealous for his God, and brought "an atonement for the children of Israel." And the sudden change of feeling, no less primitive and natural, the return of compassion towards the remnant of the Benjamites, is still in accordance with the only other trait which we know of the character of the aged Priest. They wept sore and said, "O Lord God of Israel, why is this come to pass "in Israel that there should be to-day one tribe lacking in "Israel? And the children of Israel repented them for "Benjamin their brother." Even so, when for the fancied offence of the Transjordanic tribes, the rest of the nation with Phinehas at their head had set off to exterminate them,

Phinehas.

the same tender brotherly feeling revived, when the same Phinehas heard and accepted the explanation of the act. It is the same union of a wild sense of justice and religion, combined with a keen sense of national and family union, such as marks an early age, and an early age only. In the later dissensions of the nation, we find no such hasty vows, no such measures of sudden and total destruction. But neither do we find such ready and eager forgiveness, such frank acknowledgement of error. The early feuds of nations and churches are more violent, but they are often less inveterate and malignant than the sectarianism and party spirit of later years. The one is a fitful frenzy, the other is a chronic disorder. Doubtless there was something fierce and terrible in the oracles of the ancient Phinehas, Priest and Warrior in one; but he was in the end a milder counsellor than the High Priest who, in the latest days of the nation, in all the fulness of civilization and of statesmanship, gave his counsel that "it was expedient that one man should die for the people, that the whole nation perish not."

The details of the story agree with its general character. The resolute determination of the Benjamites not to give up the guilty city is a trait of the bond of honour and of clanship which, in an early age, outweighs the ties of country and public interests. We catch here, too, the first glimpse of the romantic, and, as it were, secret alliance between Jabesh-gilead and Benjamin. Hence their absence from the fatal massacre; hence the chase of their maidens for the future wives of Benjamin; hence, in a later generation, their application for help to the great chief of the Benjamite tribe; hence their fidelity to him after defeat and [1] death. The remnant of the tribe, entrenched on the cliff of "the [2] Pomegranate," reveals to us the fierce daring

[1] Judg. xxi. 9—14. 1 Sam. xi. 4; xxxi. 11, 12. [2] Rimmon; Judg. xx. 47.

of the time. The dances in the vineyards of Shiloh reveal to us its simplicity and tenderness.

The story of Ruth.

3. Thirdly, the story of Ruth (in the ancient editions of the Hebrew Scriptures always joined to the Book of Judges) reveals to us a scene as primitive in its simple repose as the others are in their violence [1] and disorder. It is one of those quiet corners of history which are the green spots of all time, and which appear to become greener and greener as they recede into the distance. Bethlehem is the starting point of this story, as of the two which preceded, but now under different auspices. We see amidst the cornfields, whence it derives its name, "the House of Bread," the beautiful stranger gleaning the ears of corn after the [2] reapers. We hear the exchange of salutations between the reapers and their master; "Jehovah be with you," "Jehovah bless [3] thee." We are present at the details of the ancient custom, which the author of the book describes almost with the fond regret of modern antiquarianism, as one which was "the manner of Israel in former times,"— the symbolical transference of the rights of kinsmanship by drawing off the sandal.[4] We have the first record of a solemn nuptial benediction; with the first direct allusion to the ancient patriarchal traditions of Rachel and Leah,[5] of Judah and Tamar. And whilst these touches send us back, as in the two dark stories which precede this tranquil episode, to the earlier stage of Israelite existence, there is in this the first germ of the future hope of the nation. The book of Ruth is, indeed, the link of connection between the old and the new. There was rejoicing over the birth of the child at Bethlehem which Ruth

[1] It is useless (with so few data) to attempt to fix the exact time of the events related in the Book of Ruth. Its general character, however, agrees with the seclusion of the tribe of Judah throughout this period.

[2] Ruth ii. 2.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 4.
[4] *Ibid.* iv. 7.
[5] *Ibid.* iv. 11, 12.

bare to Boaz: "and Naomi took the child and laid it in "her bosom, and became nurse to it."[1] It would seem as if there was already a kind of joyous foretaste of the birth and infancy which, in after times, was to be for ever associated with the name of Bethlehem. It was the first appearance on the scene of what may by anticipation be called even then the Holy Family, for that child was Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of David. Nor is it a mere genealogical connection between the two generations. The very license and independence of the age may be said to have been the means of introducing into the ancestry of David and of the Messiah an element which else would have been, humanly speaking, impossible. "An Ammonite or a "Moabite shall not enter into the[2] congregation." This was the letter of the law, and in the greater strictness that prevailed after the return from the captivity, it was rigidly enforced. But in the isolation of Judah from the rest of Israel, in the doing of every man what was right in his own eyes, the more comprehensive spirit of the whole religion overstepped the letter of a particular enactment. The story of Ruth has shed a peaceful light over what else would be the accursed race of Moab. We strain our gaze to know something of the long line of the purple hills of Moab, which form the background at once of the history and of the geography of Palestine. It is a satisfaction to feel that there is one tender association which unites them with the familiar history and scenery of Judæa — that from their recesses, across the deep gulf which separates the two regions, came the gentle ancestress of David and of the Messiah.

V. "And now" (if I may venture for a moment to use the language of the sacred book[3] which in the New Testament

[1] Ruth iv. 16. [2] Deut. xxiii. 3; Ezra ix. 1; Neh. xiii. 1. [3] Heb. xi. 32.

has thrown itself with the greatest ardour and sympathy into this troubled period), "what shall I more say? for the time would fail me to tell of Gideon and of Barak, and of "Samson and of Jephthah."

Mixed characters of the period.

Reserving the details, let me say thus much by way of prelude to all these characters. I have dwelt on the unsettled, transitory, unequal state of the time in which they lived, because only in the light of that time can they be fairly considered. Mixed characters they are, as almost all the characters in Scripture are — but in them the ingredients are mixed more closely, more strongly than in any others, in proportion to the mixed character of the period which produced them. It is this which gives to the narrative of the Book of Judges its peculiar charm. And, although as I have said, it stands, by its own confession, on a lower moral level than other portions of the Sacred record, although it portrays a time when "every man did what was right in his own eyes," and when "the children of Israel did that which was evil in "the sight of the Lord," yet there is in this very circumstance a lesson which we should sorely miss if it were lost to us. It represents a period of ecclesiastical history, with all the chequered colours of real life. It gives a play to those natural qualities which, though not strictly religious, are yet too noble, too lively, too attractive, to be overlooked in any true, and therefore (in the highest sense), any religious view of the world. We cannot pretend to say that Samson and Jephthah, hardly that Gideon or Barak, are characters which we should have selected as devout men, as servants of God. We should, at least if we had met with them in another history, have regarded them as wild freebooters, as stern chieftains, at best as high-minded patriots. They are bursting with passion, they are stained by revenge, they are alternately lax and superstitious. Their virtues are of the rough kind, which make them subjects of personal or poetic interest rather than

of sober edification; their words are remarkable, not so much for devotion or wisdom, as for a burning enthusiasm, like the song of Deborah; for a chivalrous frankness, as in the acts of Phinehas and of Jephthah; for a ready presence of mind, as in the movements of Gideon; for a primitive and racy humour, as in the repartees of Samson. Yet these characters are without hesitation ranked amongst the lights of the Chosen People: the world's heroes are fearlessly enrolled amongst God's heroes; the men in whom we should be inclined to recognize only the strong arm which defends us, and the rough wit which amuses us,—are described as "raised up by God." No modern theory of "inspiration" checks the sacred writers in speaking of "the Spirit of the Lord" as "clothing" [1] Gideon as with a mantle for his enterprise, as "descending" [2] upon Othniel and Jephthah for their wars, as "striking" the soul of Samson like a bell or [3] drum, or as "rushing" upon him with irresistible force for his heroic [4] deeds. In a lower degree, doubtless, and mingled with many infirmities, the wild chiefs of this stormy epoch, with their Phœnician titles, their Bedouin lives, and their "muscular" religion, partook of the same Spirit which inspired Moses and Joshua before them, and David and Isaiah after them. The imperfection of their characters, the disorder of their times, set forth the more clearly the one redeeming element of trust in God that lurked in each of them, and, through them, kept alive the national existence. "*By faith*," as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews is not afraid to say, they, too, in their unconscious energy "subdued kingdoms . . . . obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions . . . . escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens."

Such an acknowledgement of these characters is a double

[1] Judg. vi. 34 (Hebrew).
[2] *Ibid.* iii. 10; xi. 29.
[3] Judg. xiii. 25 (Hebrew).
[4] *Ibid.* xiv. 6; xv. 14.

boon. Nothing should be lamented, nothing should be despised, which brings within the range of our religious sympathy, within the sanction of Revelation, qualities and incidents which in common life we cannot help admiring, which history and common sense command us to admire, but which yet, from our narrow construction of God's Providence, we are afraid to recognize in our theological or ecclesiastical systems. *We* gain by being made at one with ourselves: Scripture gains by being made at one with us. Had the history of the Chosen People been framed on the principle of many a later history of the Church, who can doubt that these inestimable touches of human life and character would have been altogether lost to us? How would Samson have fared with Milner? to what would Deborah have been reduced in the refined speculations of Neander?

The classical element in the history.

And there is a yet further affinity between us and them, which the Sacred history impresses upon us. Is it not the case that, in this period, we see for the first time, and more distinctly than elsewhere, that approximation which is developed, irregularly, obscurely, but still perceptibly, as time goes on, between some elements of the Hebrew character and those of the western and European world? It is a matter which must be stated carefully and cautiously, lest we seem to encourage the extravagant theories which, on the right hand and on the left, have beset every such view of the question. But the very fact of such theories having arisen implies a common ground, which is really a matter of solid interest and instruction. Few, if any, will now maintain the hypothesis of our old divines of the last century, that the stories of Iphigenia and Idomeneus are stolen from the story of Jephthah's daughter, or the labours of Hercules from the labours of Samson; few, if any, will now maintain, with some Germans of the last generation, the reverse hypothesis that Samson and Jephthah are mere copies of Hercules and

Agamemnon. But the resemblance between the two sets of incidents is an undoubted indication that there was something in the Hebrew race which did more readily produce incidents and characters, if we may use the expression, of a classical, western, Grecian type, than we find in any other branch of the Semitic, we might almost add, of the Oriental world. It is a likeness, which, as I have said, goes on increasing from this time forward. It is as if, from the moment that the tribes of Israel caught sight of the Mediterranean waters — of the ships of Chittim — of the isles of the sea — the spirit of the West began to be mingled with the spirit of their native East, and they began to assume that position in the world which none have occupied except the inhabitants of Palestine — links between Asia and Europe, between Shem and Japhet, between the immovable repose of the Oriental, and the endless activity and freedom of the Occidental world.

We may, as we read the story of the Judges, feel that the sacred characters are gradually drawing nearer to us, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone. The figures of speech which they use are familiar to us in the imagery of our own West. In the parable of Jotham — the earliest known fable — we fall upon the first instance of that peculiar kind of composition, in which the Eastern and Western imagination coincide. The fables of Æsop are alike Grecian and Indian. The fable of Jotham might, as far as its spirit goes, have been spoken in the market-place of Athens or of Rome as appropriately as on the height of Gerizim. Of the classical elements in the stories of Jephthah and Samson we shall have to speak in detail. In the case of Samson especially, the classical tendency has been put to the severest conceivable test, for it has been chosen by the most classical of all English poets as the framework of a drama, which, even after all that has been done since in our own day for finished imitations of the

Grecian style, with Grecian scenery and Grecian mythology for their basis, must yet be considered the most perfect likeness of an ancient tragedy that modern literature has produced.

Analogy of the period to the Middle Ages.

VI. Finally, there is, perhaps, no period of the Jewish history which so directly illustrates a corresponding period of Christian history. It is, no doubt, a grave error, both in taste and in religion, to institute a too close comparison between sacred history and common history. There is a barrier between them which, with all their points of resemblance, cannot be overleaped. But we are expressly told that the things which "were written aforetime" "happened to them for "ensamples," that they were "written for our admonition, "upon whom the ends of the world are come." If so, we cannot safely decline to recognize the undoubted likenesses of ourselves and of our forefathers which those examples contain. And, in this case, I know not where we shall find a better guide to conduct us, with a judgement at once just and tender, through the mediæval portion of Christian ecclesiastical history, than the sacred record of the corresponding period of the history of the Judges. The knowledge of each period reacts upon our knowledge of the other. The difficulties of each mutually explain the other. We cannot be in a better position for defending mediæval Christianity against the indiscriminate attacks of one-sided Puritanical writers, than by pointing to its counterpart in the Sacred record. We cannot wish for a better proof of the general truth and fidelity of this part of the Biblical narrative, than by observing its exact accordance with the manners and feelings of Christendom under analogous circumstances. We need only claim for the doubtful acts of Jephthah and of Jael the same verdict that philosophical historians have pronounced on the like actions of Popes and Crusaders — a judgement to be measured not by our age, but by theirs, not by the light of full Christian civilization, but by the license of a time

when "every man did what was right in his own eyes"—and when the maxim of them of old time still prevailed over every other consideration,—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour, "and hate thine enemy." We need only claim for the Middle Ages the same favourable hearing which religious men of all persuasions are willing to extend to the Judges of Israel. The difficulty which uneducated or half-educated classes of men find in rightly judging, or even rightly conceiving, of a state of morals and religion different from their own, is one of the main obstacles to a general diffusion of comprehensive and tolerant views of past history. What we want is some common ground, on which the poor and unlearned can witness the application of such views no less than the highly cultivated. Such a ground is furnished by many parts of the sacred narrative; but by none so much as the Book of Judges. If we urge that the Middle Ages must be judged by another standard than our own; that the excesses which are now universally condemned were then united with high and noble aspirations; to half the world we shall be saying words without meaning. But if we can show that the very same variation of judgement is allowed and enforced in the sacred and familiar instance of the Judges, we shall, at any rate, have a chance of being heard. Here, as elsewhere, the Bible will discharge its proper function of being the one book of all classes — the one history and literature in which rich and poor can meet together and understand each other.

These resemblances between the mediæval history of the Jewish Church and the mediæval history of the Christian Church are seen at every turn, and perhaps more felt than seen. Take any scene, almost at random, from this period; and, but for the names and Eastern colouring, it might be from the tenth or twelfth century. The house of Micah and his Levite set forth the exact likeness of the feudal castle

and feudal chieftain of our early civilization. The Danites, eager to secure to their enterprise the sanction of a sacred personage and of sacred images, are the forerunners of that strange mixture of faith and superstition, which prompted in the Middle Ages so many pious thefts of relics, so many extortions of unwilling benedictions. The Levite bribed by the promise of a higher office is, as we have already observed, the likeness of the faithless guardian of a venerated shrine tempted by the vacant Abbacy in some neighbouring monastery to betray the sacred treasure committed to him. In Micah and his armed men pursuing their lost teraphim, and repulsed with rough taunts by the stronger band, we read the victory obtained by the successful relic stealers over their less ready or less powerful rivals. The whole story of the Benjamite war has been introduced as a mediæval tale into a celebrated historical [1] romance, perhaps with questionable propriety, but in such exact conformity to the costume and fashion of the time, as to furnish of itself a proof of the graphic faithfulness of the sacred narrative, which could lend itself so readily to the metamorphosis. The summons of the tribes by the bones of the murdered victim, and of the slaughtered animal, is the same as the summons of the Highland clans by the fiery cross dipped in blood. The vows of monastic life, the vows of celibacy, the vows of pilgrimage, which exercise so large an influence over mediæval life, have their prototypes in the vows already noticed in the early struggles of Israel—the same excuses, the same evils, and many of the same advantages. The insecurity of communication—the danger of violence by night—is the same in both periods. The very roads fall, if one may so say, into the same track. "The highways become unoccupied, and the travellers," alike in Judæa and in England, "walk [2] along the byways,"

[1] See Scott's *Ivanhoe*, c. xv.

[2] Judg. v. 6.

under the skirt of the hills and through the dark lanes which may screen them from notice. We are struck at Ascalon and in the plains of Philistia by finding the localities equally connected with the history of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and of Samson; but they are, in fact, united by moral and historical, far more than by any mere local, coincidences. In both ages there is the same long crusade against the unbelievers. The Moors in Spain, the Tartars in Russia, play the very same part as the Canaanites and Philistines in Palestine. The caves of Palestine furnish the same refuge as the caves of Asturias. Priests and Levites wander to and fro over Palestine: mendicant friars and sellers of indulgences over Europe. Hophni and Phinehas become at Shiloh the prototypes of the bloated pluralists of the Mediæval Church of Europe. "In those days there was no king in Israel," there was no settled government in Christendom—all things were as yet in chaos and confusion. Yet the germs of a better life were everywhere at work. In the one, the Judge, as we have seen, was gradually blending into the hereditary King. In the other, the feudal chief was gradually passing into the constitutional sovereign. The youth of Samuel, the childhood of David, were nursed under this wild system. The schools of the prophets, the universities of Christendom, owe their first impulse to this first period of Jewish and of Christian History.

The age of the Psalmists and Prophets was an immense advance upon the age of the Judges. Yet Psalmists and Prophets look back with exultation and delight to the day when the rod of the oppressor was [1] broken, when the hosts of Sisera perished at Endor, when Zeba and Zalmunna were swept away as the stubble before the wind. Our age is an immense advance upon the age of chivalry

[1] Isaiah ix. 4, x. 26; Ps. lxxxiii. 9—11.

and the Crusaders; but it is well, from time to time, to be reminded that there are virtues in chivalry and in barbarism, as well as in reason and civilization; and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has taught us that even the most imperfect of the champions of ancient times may be ranked in the cloud of the witnesses of faith,—[1] "God having "provided some better thing for us, that they without us "might not be made perfect."

[1] Heb. xi. 40.

LECTURE XIV.

DEBORAH.

THE great war of the earlier period of the history is heralded by two or three lesser conflicts.

Othniel only appears as the last of the generation of conquerors.[1] In him the Lion of Judah, which had won the southern portion of Palestine under Caleb, appears for the last time, till the resuscitation of the warlike spirit of the tribe by David. All the other indications of its history during this period are peaceful; the pastoral simplicity of Boaz and Ruth, its absence from the gathering under Barak, its retiring demeanour in the story of Samson. The enemy whom Othniel attacked is also a solitary exception. Chushan-Rishathaim is the only invader from the remote East till the decline of the monarchy, and his name has as yet received no illustration from the Assyrian monuments or history. Othniel.

The story of Ehud throws a broader light over the darkness of the time. The Moabite armies, the most civilized of the Transjordanic nations, exasperated, perhaps, by the increasing inroads of Gad and Reuben, place themselves at the head of the more nomadic tribes of Ammon and Amalek, cross the Jordan, and (like the Israelites on their first passage) establish themselves at Gilgal and Jericho. Beyond the mountain barrier they did not [2] reach; but their dominion extended itself over the neighbouring tribe of [3] Benjamin, and a village bearing the name of the "hamlet Ehud.

[1] Judg. iii. 9. [2] *Ibid.* 13. [3] *Ibid.* 26.

"of the[1] Ammonites" was probably the memorial of this conquest. From Benjamin, accordingly, a yearly tribute was exacted. There was in the tribe a youth[2] of the name of Ehud, who had acquired a fame for prophetic power in the country. He was naturally entrusted with the charge of carrying the tribute to the Moabite fortress. After he had delivered the gifts, he paid a visit to the sacred[3] inclosure or "images" at Gilgal, left his two[4] attendants, and returned, with his increased knowledge of the localities, to the presence of the king. The whole scene is full of the contrast between the slight, wily, agile Israelite, and the[5] corpulent, credulous, unwieldy Moabite. The king is seated in a chamber on the roof of the house for the sake of catching a cool air in the sultry atmosphere of the Jordan valley, with his attendants around him. Ehud announces that he has a secret oracle to disclose. The king, with an instantaneous[6] "Hush!" orders his attendants to withdraw. Ehud, still fearing lest his blow should miss its aim, repeats the announcement of the divine message. This was to raise the king from his sitting posture, and expose him to the stroke more easily. Eglon falls into the snare. With the respect always paid in the East to a sacred personage, he rises and comes towards the assassin. In that moment, from the long[7] mantle, which as the leader of the tribe he wore round him, Ehud, left-handed like so[8] many of his tribesmen, drew the long dagger concealed on his right thigh. Its[9] flash is seen for an instant, before the flesh of the portly king closes in upon it. Ehud escapes by the gallery round

[1] Josh. xviii. 24.

[2] Joseph. *Ant.* v. 4, § 2; *νεανίας, νεανίσκος.*

[3] This seems to be the meaning of the word translated "quarries," Judg. iii. 19, 26.

[4] Joseph. *Ant.* v. 4, § 2. *σὺν δυοῖν οἰκέταις.*

[5] Judg. iii. 17.

[6] *Ibid.* 19 (Hebrew).

[7] The word translated "raiment," *Ibid.* 16.

[8] *Ibid.* xx. 16; 1 Chron. xii. 2.

[9] LXX. *φλόγα.* Comp. Nahum iii. 3; Judg. iii. 22; Job xxxix. 23.

the roof, locking the door behind him. He regains the sanctuary at Gilgal, then darts into the mountains, and rouses his countrymen by the rude blasts of his cow horns, blown in every direction over the hill-side. The upper chamber at Jericho, meanwhile, remains shut. The attendants stand outside. They cannot account for the long closing of the door, except on the supposition that their lord had retired there for purposes which Oriental delicacy reserves for seclusion. At last their [1] hope fails. They find the huge corpse stretched on the ground. They fly panic-stricken; but, by the time they reach the ford of the Jordan, they find it intercepted by the Israelite warriors, and the narrative ends as it had begun, with its half-humorous allusion to the [2] well-fed carcasses of those, who, corpulent like their chief, lay dead along the shore of the river.

But the crowning event of this period, both in its intrinsic interest and our knowledge of it, is the victory of Deborah and Barak. It is told both in prose and poetry, and the poem is one of the most incontestable remains of antiquity that the Sacred records contain, and the increased pleasure and instruction with which we are enabled to read it furnish a signal proof of the gain added to our Biblical knowledge by the advance of Biblical criticism. If, in the story of Ehud and Eglon, we trace something of what may be called the comic vein of the Sacred History, in the story of Deborah and Sisera we come across the tragic vein in its grandest style. Deborah.

The power of the northern kings, which Joshua had broken down at the waters of Merom, revived under a second Jabin, also king of Hazor. The formidable chariots, as before, overran the territories of the adjacent tribes. The

[1] Judg. iii. 25 (Hebrew).

[2] *Ibid.* 29. The word translated "lusty," always elsewhere "fat."

whole country was disorganised with terror. The [1] obscure tortuous paths became the only means of communication. As long afterwards in the time of Saul, regular weapons disappeared from the oppressed population. "There was not a spear or shield seen among forty thousand in [2] Israel." Shamgar, the son of Anath, defended himself against the enemies of the south with the long pole armed at the end with a spike still used by the peasants of Palestine. In this general depression, the national spirit was revived by one whose appearance is full of significance. On the heights of Ephraim, on the central thoroughfare of Palestine, near the sanctuary of Bethel, stood two famous trees (if we may be permitted to distinguish them), both in aftertimes known by the same name. One was "the oak-tree," or "Terebinth" "of Deborah," underneath which was buried, with many tears, the nurse of [3] Jacob. The other was a solitary palm, which, in all probability, had given its name to an adjacent sanctuary, [4] Baal-Tamar, "the sanctuary of the palm," but which was also known in after times as "the palm-tree of [5] Deborah." Under this palm, as Saul afterwards under the pomegranate-tree of [6] Migron, as S. Louis under the oak-tree of Vincennes, dwelt Deborah the wife of Lapidoth, to whom the sons of Israel came up to receive her wise answers. She is the magnificent impersonation of the free spirit of the Jewish people and of Jewish life. On the coins of the Roman Empire, Judæa is represented as a woman seated under a palm-tree, captive and weeping. It is the contrast of that figure which will best place before us the character and call of Deborah. It is the

[1] Judg. v. 5.

[2] *Ibid.* 8.

[3] Gen. xxxiv. 8, and possibly "the oak of Tabor," 1 Sam. x. 3.

[4] Judg. xx. 33.

[5] Her name, on which Josephus (*Ant.* v. 5) lays stress, as the Sacred Bee or "Queen Bee" of Palestine, may be perhaps derived from her patriarchal namesake, by whose tomb she sate. Compare Donaldson's Latin Dissertation on the Song of Deborah.

[6] 1 Sam. xiv. 2.

same Judæan palm, under whose shadow she sits, but not with downcast eyes and folded hands, and extinguished hopes; with all the fire of faith and energy, eager for the battle, confident of the victory. Like the German prophetess who roused her people against the invaders from Rome, like the simple peasant girl, who by communing with mysterious angels' voices roused the French nation against the English dominion, when princes and statesmen had well nigh given up the cause, — so the heads of Israel "ceased and ceased, "until that she, Deborah, arose, that she arose, a mother in "Israel." Her appearance was like a new epoch. They chose new chiefs that came as new [1] gods among them. It was she who turned her eyes and the eyes of the nation to the fitting leader. As always in these wars, he was to come from the tribe that most immediately suffered from the yoke of the oppressor. High up in the north, almost within sight of the capital of Jabin, was the sanctuary of the tribe of Naphtali — Kedesh-Naphtali. It is a spot which, though only mentioned here in direct connection with the sacred history, retained its sanctity long [2] afterwards. Planted on a hill overlooking a double platform, or green upland plain, amongst the mountains of Naphtali, its site is covered with ancient ruins beyond any other spot in western Palestine, if we except the ancient capitals of Hebron, Jerusalem, and Samaria. Tombs of every kind, rock-hewn caves, stone coffins thrust into the earth, elaborate mausoleums, indicate the reverence in which it must have been held by successive generations of the Jewish people. In this remote sanctuary, lived a chief, who bore the significant name—which afterwards reappears amongst the warriors of Carthage — "Barak"—"Barca"— [3] "Lightning." His fame must have been wide-spread to have reached the prophetess in her remote

Kadesh-Naphtali.

[1] Judg. v. 8.

[2] It is described in Robinson, iii. 367. I saw it in 1862.

[3] Joseph. (*Ant.* v. 5, § 2) dwells on this.

dwelling at Bethel. From his native place she summoned him to her side, and delivered to him her prophetic command. He, as if oppressed by the presence of a loftier spirit than his own, refuses to act, unless she were with him to guide his movements, and (according to the Septuagint version) to name [1] the very day which should be auspicious for his effort: "For I know not the day on which the Lord will send his "good angel with me." She replies at once with the Hebrew emphasis: "I will go, I will go!" but adding the reservation, that the honour should not rest with the man who thus leaned upon a woman, but that a woman should reap the glory of the day of which a woman had been the adviser. It was from Kedesh that the insurrection, thus organised, spread from tribe to tribe. The temperature of the zeal of the different portions of the nation can be traced almost in proportion to their nearness to the centre of the agitation. The main support of the cause was naturally derived from the northern tribes who were the chief sufferers from the oppressor, and who fell most immediately within the range of Barak's influence. The leading tribe, conjointly with Barak's own clan of Naphtali, but even more conspicuously, was Zebulun, as though the spirit of the neighbouring population was less crushed than that which lay close under the walls of Jabin's capital. The sceptres or standards of Zebulun stamped themselves on the mind of the beholders, as the two kindred tribes drew near to [3] "the high places of the field" of the upland plain of Kedesh, ready "to throw" their lives headlong into the mortal struggle.

The gathering of the tribes.

[1] Judg. iv. 9. The ambiguity which appears in the present text is still more thoroughly brought out in Josephus, *Ant.* v. 5, § 3. The emphasis is on "*thou*."—"The way which *thou* goest."

[2] The two occur together, Judg. iv. 10; v. 18; but Zebulun first; and Zebulun also appears in chap. v. 14.

[3] Judg. v. 18. The "high places of the field," here more especially associated with Naphtali, may be either Kedesh or Tabor. The comparison of iv. 14 with ver. 10, rather favours the former. The Vulgate translates it *in regione Merom.*

With them, but in a subordinate place, were the chiefs of [1] Issachar, roused apparently by Deborah herself, as she passed over the plain of Esdraelon on her way to Kedesh. To her influence also must be ascribed the rising of the central tribes around her residence at Bethel. From the mountain which bore the name of Amalek came a band of Ephraimites. The war-cry of Benjamin "After thee, [2] Benjamin!" was raised, and from the north-eastern portion of Manasseh came representatives bearing some high [3] title which distinguished them from the surrounding chiefs.

Three portions of the nation remained aloof. Of Judah nothing is said. Dan and Asher, the two maritime tribes, clung the one to his ships in the harbour of Joppa, the other to his seashore by the bay of Acre. The Transjordanic tribes met by one of the rushing streams of their native hills — the Arnon or the Jabbok — to decide on their course. "Great was the debate." The pastoral Reuben preferred to linger among the sheepfolds, among the [4] whistling pipes of the shepherds. "Great was the wavering" that followed. And the nomadic Gileadites abode in their tents or their cities, safe beyond the Jordan valley.

These, however, were exceptions. It was a general revival of the national spirit, such as rarely occurred. The leaders are described as filling their places with an ardour worthy of their position. "The chiefs became the chiefs," in [5] deed, as well as in name. "The lawgivers of Israel "willingly offered themselves [6] for the people." "The Lord "came down amongst the mighty." And to this the nation responded with a readiness, unlike their usual sluggishness,

[1] Judg. v. 15.
[2] *Ibid.* 14.
[3] *Ibid.* 14 (Hebrew).
[4] See Ewald iii. 88 note. "On Lebanon we met a troop of goats, the goatherds singing in chorus to the music of a well-played reed pipe." (Miss Beaufort's *Travels*, i. 283.)
[5] Judg. v. 15, 16 (Hebrew).
[6] *Ibid.* 9, 13 (Hebrew).

as under Gideon and Saul. "The people willingly offered "[1] themselves." "They that rode on white asses, they that "sate on rich carpets of state, they that humbly walked by "the way," [2] all joined in this solemn enterprise.

The meeting on Mount Tabor.

The muster place was Mount Tabor. The marked isolation of the mountain, the broad green sward on its summit, possibly the first beginnings of the fortress which crowned its height in later times, pointed it out as the encampment of the northern tribes, in the centre of which it stood. It has been already noticed that, in all probability, this was the mountain to which the people of "Zebulun and Issachar" are called by Moses "to offer sacrifices of [3] righteousness." There two at least of the tribes, Zebulun and Naphtali, waited under their leaders for the appearance of the enemy. A village on the wooded slope of the hill still bears the name of Deborah, possibly from this connection with her history.

The enemy were not without tidings of the insurrection. Close beside Kedesh-Naphtali was a tribe, hovering between Israel and Canaan, which we shall shortly meet again, through which (so we are led to [4] infer) this information came. From Harosheth of the Gentiles — the "woodcuttings" or "quarries" of the mixed heathen population on the outskirts of Lebanon — came down the Canaanite host, with the chariots of iron, in which, after the manner of their countrymen, they trusted as invincible. Their leader, the first, indeed the only, commander of whom we hear by name on the adverse side of these long wars, was himself a native of Harosheth, and a potentate of sufficient grandeur to have his mother recognized in the surrounding tribes as a kind of queen-mother of the place; and whose family traditions had struck such root, that the name of "Sisera"

[1] Judg. v. 2.
[2] *Ibid.* 10.
[3] Deut. xxxiii. 19.
[4] Judg. iv. 11.

occurs long afterwards in the history, and the great Jewish Rabbi [1] Akiba claimed to be descended from him. Jabin himself seems not to have been present. But, as in the former battle by the waters of Merom, so now, several kings of the Canaanites had joined [2] him; and they, with all their forces, encamped in the plain of Esdraelon, now for the first time the battle-field of Israel, where their chariots and cavalry could act most effectively. They took up their position in the south-west corner of the plain, where a long spur, now clad with olives, runs out from the hills of Manasseh. On this promontory still stands a large stone village, in its name of [3] Taanak, marking the site of the Canaanitish fortress of Taanach, beside which, doubtless, as occupied by a kindred unconquered population, the Canaanite kings were entrenched. It is just at this point that the traveller catches the first distinct view of the arched summit of Tabor. From that summit Deborah must have watched the gradual drawing of the enemy towards the spot of her predicted triumph. She raised the cry, which twice over occurs in the story of the battle, "[4] Arise, Barak." She gave with unhesitating confidence to the doubting troops the augury which he had asked before the insurrection began — "*This*," this and no other, "[5] is the day when the Lord shall deliver Sisera into thy hand." Down from the wooded heights descended Barak and his ten thousand men. It is emphatically [6] repeated that they were "on foot," and thus contrasted in the most forcible manner with the horses and chariots of their enemies.

Taanach.

From Tabor to Taanach is a march of about thirteen miles, and therefore the approach must have been long foreseen by the Canaanitish forces. They moved west-

[1] See Milman's *Hist. of the Jews*, iii. 115.
[2] Judg. v. 3, 19.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 27; v. 19.
[4] *Ibid.* iv. 14 (Hebrew); v. 12.
[5] *Ibid.* iv. 8 (LXX.), 14; Joseph. *Ant.* v. 5, § 3.
[6] *Ibid.* iv. 10; v. 15.

wards along the plain, which here forms, as it were a large bay to the south, between the projecting promontory of Taanach and the first beginnings of Carmel. The plain is luxuriant with weeds and corn. One solitary tree rises from the midst of it. The great caravan route from Damascus to Egypt passes, and probably at that time already passed, across it. At the head of this curve stood another unsubdued Canaanitish fortress, Megiddo, afterwards the station of a Roman "Legion," whence its present name Ledjûn. Towards the cover of this, it may be, securer fastness, but still keeping along the level plain, the Canaanitish army moved. Its final encampment was beside the numerous rivulets which, descending from the hills of Megiddo into the Kishon, as it flows in a broader stream through the corn fields below, may well have been known as "[1] the waters of Megiddo." It was at this critical moment that (as we learn directly from [2] Josephus, and indirectly from the song of Deborah) a tremendous storm of sleet and hail gathered from the east, and burst over the plain, driving full in the faces of the advancing Canaanites. "The [3] stars in their courses fought with Sisera." As in like case in the battle of Cressy, the slingers and the archers were disabled by the rain, the swordsmen were crippled by the biting cold. The Israelites, on the other hand, having the storm on their rear, were less troubled by it, and derived confidence from the consciousness of this Providential aid. The confusion became great. The "rain descended," the four rivulets of Megiddo were swelled into powerful streams, the torrent of the Kishon rose into a flood, the plain became a morass. The chariots and the horses, which should have gained the day for the Canaanites, turned

The waters of Megiddo.

[1] Judg. v. 19. The whole of this scene I traversed in 1862.

[2] *Ant.* v. 5, § 4.

[3] Judg. v. 20. I have taken this verse, as it is usually rendered, as if "against." But the ambiguity of the original "with," combined with the repetition of the word "fought" from the previous verses, suggests the possibility that what is meant is the contrast between the fighting of the stars for Sisera, and the flood of the Kishon against him.

against them. They became entangled in the swamp; the torrent of Kishon — the torrent famous through former ages — swept them away in its furious eddies; and in that wild confusion "the strength" of the Canaanites "was "trodden down," and "the horsehoofs stamped and struggled "by the means of the plungings and plungings of the "mighty chiefs" in the quaking morass and the rising streams. Far and wide the vast army fled, far through the eastern branch of the plain by Endor. There, between Tabor and the Little Hermon, a carnage took place long remembered, in which the corpses [1]lay fattening the ground. Onwards from thence they still fled over the northern hills to the city of their great captain — Harosheth of the [2]Gentiles. Fierce and rapid was the pursuit. One city, by which the pursuers and pursued passed, gave no help. "Curse ye "Meroz, curse ye with a curse its inhabitants, because "they came not to the help of Jehovah." So, as it would [3]seem, spoke the prophetic voice of Deborah. We can imagine what was the crime and what the punishment from the analogous case of Succoth and Penuel, which, in like manner, gave no help when Gideon pursued the Midianites. The curse was so fully carried out, that the [4]name of Meroz never again appears in the sacred history. Of the Canaanite fugitives, none reached their own mountain fortress: even the tidings of the disaster were long delayed. From the high latticed windows of Harosheth, the inmates of Sisera's harem, his mother, and her attendant princesses, are on the stretch of expectation for the sight of the war car of their champion, with the lesser chariots around him. They sustain their hopes by counting over the spoils that he will bring

The flight.

The fall of Meroz.

[1] "Which perished at Endor, and became as dung for the earth." (Ps. lxxxiii. 10.)

[2] Judg. iv. 16.

[3] "The messenger of the Lord." (Judg. v. 23.)

[4] Eusebius and Jerome, however, mention a spot near Dothan, of this name. (*Onomasticon de Locis Heb.*)

home,—rich embroidery for themselves; female slaves for each of the chiefs. The prey would never come. That well-known chariot of iron would never return. It was left to rust on the banks of the Kishon, like Roderick's by the shores of the Guadalete. In the moment of the general panic, Sisera had sprung from his seat, and escaped on foot over the northern mountains towards Hazor. It must have been three days after the battle that he reached a spot, which seems to gather into itself, as in the last scene of an eventful drama, all the characters of the previous acts. Between Hazor, the capital of Jabin, and Kadesh-Naphtali, the birthplace of Barak—each within a day's journey of the other—lies, raised high above the plain of Merom, amongst the hills of [1] Naphtali, a green plain, which joins almost imperceptibly with that over-hung by Kedesh-Naphtali itself. This plain is still, and was then, studded with massive terebinths. Naphtali itself seems to have derived from them the symbol of its tribe, "a towering [2] terebinth." They were themselves marked in that early age by a sight unusual in this part of Palestine. Underneath the spreading branches of one of them there dwelt, unlike the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, a settlement of Bedouins, living, as if in the desert, with their tents pitched, and their camels and asses around them, whence the spot had acquired the name of "the Terebinth," or "Oak, of the Unloading of Tents." Between Heber, the chief of this little colony, and the king of Hazor, there was peace. It would even seem that from him, or from his tribe, thus planted on the debatable ground between Kadesh and Hazor, Sisera had derived the first intelligence of the [3] insurrection. Thither, therefore, it was that, confident in Arab fidelity, the wearied general turned his steps. He approached the tent,

The oak of Zaanaim.

[1] Josh. xix. 33, Allon-Zaananim. Judg. iv. 11, mistranslated "Plain of Zaanaim."

[2] Gen. xlix. 21 (Hebrew).

[3] Judg. iv. 12.

not of Heber, but for the sake of greater [1] security, the harem of the chieftainness, Jael, the "Gazelle." It was a fit name for a Bedouin's wife — especially for one whose family had come from the rocks of Engedi, "the spring of "the wild goat" or "chamois." The long, low tent was spread under the tree, and from under its cover she advanced to meet him with the accustomed reverence. "Turn in, my "lord, turn in, and fear not." She covered him with a rough wrapper or rug, on the slightly raised divan inside the tent; and he, exhausted with his flight, lay down, and then, lifting up his head, begged for a drop of water to cool his parched lips. She brought him more than water. She unfastened the mouth of the large skin, such as stand by Arab tents, which was full of sweet milk from the herds or the camels. She [2] offered, as for a sacrificial feast, in the [3] bowl used for illustrious guests, the thick curded milk, frothed like cream, and the weary man drank, and then (secure in the Bedouin hospitality which regards as doubly sure the life of one who has eaten and drunk at the hand of his host) he sank into a deep sleep, as she again drew round him the rough covering which for a moment she had withdrawn. Then she saw that her hour was come. She pulled up from the ground the large pointed peg or [4] nail which fastened down the ropes of the tent, and held it in her left hand; with her right hand she grasped the ponderous hammer or wooden mallet of the

Jael.

The murder.

[1] From the security of the wife's tent the valuables, culinary utensils, &c., are kept in it.

[2] The word translated "brought forth," Judg. v. 25, has this meaning.

[3] "The milk was presented to us in a wooden bowl; the liquid butter in an earthenware dish" (Irby and Mangles, 481). "Once we had milk sweetened and curdled to the consistency of liquid jelly, too thick to be drunk, and only to be taken up with the hands" (482). In a meal with Aghyle Aga, a Bedouin chief, between Tiberias and Tabor in 1862, we had both these beverages. The sour milk (*Lebban*) was in a large pewter vessel, like a small barrel; a cup floated in it to skim and drink the contents. The sweet milk (*Halib*) was in a smaller pewter vessel, round like a pan, to be drunk by raising it to the lips. In both were dipped the large flexible cakes of Arab bread, which lay in profusion on the carpets.

[4] Iron, in Jos. *Ant.* v. 5, § 4.

workmen of the tribe. Her attitude, her weapon, her deed, are described both in the historic and poetic account of the event, as if fixed in the national mind. She stands like the personification of the figure of speech, so famous in the names of Judas the [1]*Maccabee*, and Charles *Martel;* the Hammer of her country's enemies. Step by step we see her advance; first, the dead silence with which she approaches the sleeper, "slumbering with the weariness of one who has run far "and fast," then the successive blows with which she "ham-"mers, crushes, beats, and pierces through and through" the forehead of the upturned face, till the point of the nail reaches the very ground on which the slumberer is stretched; and then comes the one startling bound, the contortion of agony, with which the expiring man rolls over from the low divan, and lies weltering in blood between her feet as she strides over the lifeless [2] corpse.

At this moment Barak, the conqueror, appeared. He might be in direct pursuit of the fugitive chief. He might be approaching his native place, now hard by. Out from the tent, as before, came the undaunted chieftainess, and showed the dead corpse as it lay with the stake or tent pin fixed firm in the shattered head. With this ghastly scene of the Three Neighbours of the hills of Naphtali, thus at last brought face to face, under the Terebinth of Kadesh, the direct narrative suddenly closes, as though its work were done. But Deborah's song of victory breaks in, and continues in its highest strains the echo of that day. In company with the returning conqueror, or herself leading the chorus, after the manner of Hebrew women, the Prophetess poured forth the hymn which marks the greatness of the crisis. It could be compared to nothing short of the day when Israel passed through the desert. The storm which had been sent to discomfit the Canaanite host, recalled the trembling of the

The Song of Deborah.

[1] The word *Maccab* ("Hammer") is the very one used in Judg. iv. 21.

[2] All these details may be seen by examining word by word the original of Judg. iv. 21; v. 26, 27.

earth, the heavens and the clouds dropping water, the mountains melting from before the Lord. Barak, with his long train of spoils and prisoners, had "led captivity captive." The sentiment even of the woman's delight in the dresses won in the spoils transpires through the warlike rejoicing: the pieces of embroidery are counted over in imagination, as they are torn away from the mother and the harem of Sisera for the women of Israel. The feelings and the words of the song rang on through subsequent times, and in the Prophet Habakkuk, and still more in the 68th Psalm, we catch again the very same strains; the march through the desert; the flight of kings; the dividing of the spoil by those who tarried at [1] home. It was, as the close of the hymn expresses it, like the full burst of the sun out of the darkness of the night or the blackness of a storm, "a hero in his [2] strength."

Effect of the Battle.

The likeness of the outward features of this decisive battle to that of Cressy has been already pointed out: the storm, the cold, the burst of sunlight, are all in each. A still more striking resemblance is the defeat of the [3] Carthaginians, by Timoleon, at the battle of the Crimesus, in Sicily. It opens with the spirit-stirring or prophet-like speech of Timoleon, "as though a God were speaking with him." His encampment, like Barak's, is on the hill above the river. The chariots of his opponents are broken by the Greek infantry. The violent storm of wind, rain, hail, thunder and lightning, beating in the faces of the Carthaginians, but only on the backs of the Greeks; the confusion in the river, becoming every moment fuller and more turbid through the violent rain, so that numbers perished in the torrent; the total rout, the capture

[1] Habak. iii. 3, 10, 13, 14; Ps. lxviii. 7, 8, 12, 13.

[2] Judg. v. 31.

[3] Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, xi. 246. The likeness was pointed out to me by a friend.

of the chariots — the spoils of ornamented shields — are the exact counterparts of the victory of Barak over Sisera. But, in its moral aspect, the triumph of Barak was far greater, even than the triumph of Greek civilization over Carthaginian barbarism. It was the enemies of *Jehovah* who had perished. It was the securing of the true religion from the attempt of the old Paganism to recover its ascendency in the Holy Land. It ranks, in the Sacred History, next after the Battle of Beth-horon, amongst the religious battles of the world.

And, therefore, not unworthily of this object in the song of Deborah we have the only prophetic utterance that breaks the silence between Moses and Samuel. Hers is the one voice of inspiration (in the full sense of the word) that breaks out in the Book of Judges. In her song are gathered up all the lessons which the rest of the book teaches indirectly. Hers is the life, both in her own history and in the whole period, that expresses the feelings and thoughts of thousands, who were silent till "she, Deborah, arose a mother in Israel." Hers is the prophetic word that gives an utterance and a sanction to the thoughts of freedom, of independence, of national unity, such as they had never had before in the world, and have rarely had since.

It is this religious aspect of the battle, this prophetic character of its chief leader, that has caused the difficulty, or the instruction, which is to be derived from her benediction of the assassination of Sisera.

The blessing on Jael.

Few persons read the chapter without a momentary perplexity. Even in the humblest classes, and holiest hearts, a question not of sinful doubt, but of most religious enquiry, arises — What is the purpose of thus recording and of thus blessing an act which is so repugnant to our notions of Christian and European morality?

There have been numerous answers given to this question;

that for example of the Rabbis, that the act of Jael was in self-defence against a personal outrage of Sisera; or [1] of Augustine, that it was dictated by a sudden divine impulse or revelation. It is sufficient to say of both these solutions that they are gratuitous inventions, equally without the slightest foundation in the narrative itself. And in the case of the latter hypothesis, the difficulty would not be removed, but would be greatly increased by this attempt to push it back into a still more sacred region.

It has been argued, again, that the act of Jael is not commended in the Sacred History. But though this is a true answer to many so called difficulties in the Old Testament, which arise merely from investing with an imaginary perfection every subject which it treats; and though this act is not commended expressly by the words of the narrative, it is commended by its general spirit; and also both by the spirit and the words of the song of Deborah. That song, as has just been observed, is the one prophecy of the period; and, therefore, if we do not find the inspiration of the Book of Judges here, we find it no where. It gives the key-note to the whole book, and must be regarded as the fittest exponent of its meaning.

But in fact, the same answer is to be given which covers not only this, but hundreds of similar cases. Deborah, it is true, spoke as a prophetess, but it was as a prophetess enlightened only with a very small portion of that Divine Light which went on brightening ever more and more unto the perfect day. She saw clearly for a little way — but it was only for a little way. Beyond that, the darkness of the time still rested upon her vision.

"'Curse ye Meroz,' said the angel of the Lord; curse ye "bitterly the inhabitants thereof," sang Deborah. "Was "it," asks our eminent philosophic theologian, "that she "called to mind any personal wrongs —rapine or insult —

[1] Opp. iii. pp. 1, 603.

"that she, or the house of Lapidoth, had received from Jabin "or Sisera?

"No, she had dwelt under her palm tree in the depth of the "mountains. But she was a 'Mother in Israel;' and with a "mother's heart, and with the vehemency of a mother's and a "patriot's love, she had shot the light of love from her eyes, "and poured the blessings of love from her lips, on the people "that had 'jeoparded their lives unto the death,' against the "oppressors; and the bitterness, awakened and borne aloft by "the same love, she precipitated in curses on the selfish and "coward recreants who 'came not to the help of the Lord, to "the help of the Lord against the mighty.' As long as I "have the image of Deborah before my eyes, and while I "throw myself back into the age, country, and circumstances "of this Hebrew Boadicea, in the yet not tamed chaos of the "spiritual creation; as long as I contemplate the impassioned, "high-souled, heroic woman, in all the prominence and indi-"viduality of will and character, I feel as if I were among "the first ferments of the great affections — the proplastic "waves of the microcosmic chaos, swelling up against and "yet towards the outspread wings of the Dove that lies "brooding on the troubled waters. So long all is well, all "replete with instruction and example. In the fierce and "inordinate, I am made to know and be grateful for the "clearer and purer radiance which shines on a Christian's "path, neither blunted by the preparatory veil, nor crim-"soned in its struggle through the all-enwrapping mist of "the world's ignorance: whilst in the self-oblivion of these "heroes of the Old Testament — their elevation above all low "and individual interests, above all, in the entire and vehe-"ment devotion of their total being to the service of their "Divine Master — I find a lesson of humility, a ground of "humiliation, and a shaming, yet rousing, example of faith "and.[1] fealty."

[1] Coleridge's *Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*, pp. 33, 34, 35.

And when, from the inspiration of Deborah, we pass to the deed of Jael, we must be content there also to admit the same imperfection of moral perceptions, which the Highest authority has already recognized in the clearest terms.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy "neighbour and hate thine [1] enemy." Jael did hate her enemy with a perfect hatred. For the sake of destroying him, she broke through all the bonds of hospitality, of gratitude, and of truth. But then, it must not be forgotten, that if there is any portion of the Sacred History, where we should expect these bonds to be loosened, and a higher light obscured, it would be in this period of disorder, "when "there was no king in Israel, and when every one"—the Israelite warrior here—the Arabian chieftainness there—"did "what was right in his or her eyes." The allowance that, according to our Saviour's rule, we make for Ehud, for Jael, for Deborah, is precisely the same that, if it were not Sacred History, we should at once acknowledge. We do not condemn the Greeks, according to the light which they had, for praising Harmodius and Aristogiton in their plot against the tyrants of Athens. We ourselves are almost inclined, in consideration of the greatness of the necessity, and the confusion of the time, to praise the murder of Murat by Charlotte Corday, "the angel of assassination," as she has been termed by an historian of unquestioned humanity. Why should we not be as indulgent to the characters of Sacred History, as we are to those of common history? Why should not a blessing, even a Divine blessing, according to the only light which they were then able to bear, be bestowed on an act, which the most philosophic observer does not scruple to bestow as he looks back on the various imperfect acts of heroism and courage that have been wrought in troubled and violent times?

[1] Matt. v. 43; see Lecture X.

And, if we ask further, what can we learn from it? and why should this deed and this commendation of it still be read in our churches? the answer is this: —

"The spirit of the commendation of Jael is that God "allows largely for ignorance where He finds sincerity; that "they who serve Him honestly up to the measure of their "knowledge are, according to the general course of His "Providence, encouraged and blessed; that they whose eyes "and hearts are still fixed on duty and not on self, are "plainly that smoking flax which He will not quench, but "cherish rather until it be blown into a flame. . . . When "we read some of those sad but glorious martyrdoms where "good men — alas! the while for human nature —were both "the victims and the executioners, amidst all our un-"mixed admiration for the sufferers, may we not in some "instances hope and believe that the persecutors were moved "with a most earnest though an ignorant zeal, and that like "Jael they sought to please God, though like her they "essayed to do it by means which Christ's Spirit condemns? ". . . Right and good it is that we should condemn the acts "of many of those commended in the Old Testament; for "we have seen what prophets and righteous men for many "an age were not permitted to see; but no less right and "needful it is that we should imitate their fearless zeal, "without which we in our knowledge are without excuse; "with which they, by means of their unavoidable ignorance, "were even in their evil deeds [1] blessed."

THE SONG OF DEBORAH. [2]

PRELUDE.

For the leading of the Leaders in Israel,
For the free self-offering of the People.
Praise Jehovah!

[1] Arnold's *Sermons*, vi. 86–88.

[2] For the sake of convenience I have here inserted the Song. A well-known and spirited translation of it

Hear, O Kings; give ear, O Princes;
I to Jehovah, even I will sing,
Will sound the harp to Jehovah, the God of Israel.

THE EXODUS.

O Jehovah, when thou wentest out of Seir,
When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,
The earth trembled, the skies also dropped,
The clouds also dropped water.

The mountains melted from before the face of Jehovah,
Sinai itself from before the face of Jehovah, the God of Israel.

THE DISMAY.

In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath,
In the days of Jael, ceased the roads;
And they that walked on highways, walked through crooked roads.

There ceased to be heads in Israel, ceased to be,
Till I, Deborah, arose,
Till I arose, a mother in Israel.

THE CHANGE.

They chose gods that were new,
Then there was war in the gates;
Shield was there none or spear,
In forty thousand of Israel.

My heart is towards the lawgivers of Israel,
Who offered themselves willingly for the people.
Praise Jehovah!

is to be found in Milman's *Hist. of the Jews*, i. 194. In my own imperfect knowledge of Hebrew, I have adhered, as closely as I could, to the version of Ewald (*Hebräische Poesie*, p. 125), following always the order of the words, and their exact force in the original.

Ye that ride on white dappled she-asses,
Ye that sit on rich carpets,
Ye that walk in the way,
Meditate the song!

From amidst the shouting of the dividers of spoils,
Between the water-troughs,
There let them rehearse the righteous acts of Jehovah,
The righteous acts of His headship in Israel;
Then went down to the gates the people of Jehovah.

Awake, awake, Deborah!
Awake, awake, utter a song!
Arise, Barak! and lead captive thy captives,
Thou son of Abinoam.

THE GATHERING.

Then came down a remnant of the nobles of the people.
Jehovah came down to me among the heroes.

Out of Ephraim came those whose root is in Amalek,
After thee, O Benjamin, in thy people;
Out of Machir came down lawgivers,
And out of Zebulun they that handle the staff of those that number the host;
And the princes in Issachar with Deborah, and Issachar as Barak,
Into the valley he was sent on his feet.

THE RECREANTS.

By the streams of Reuben great are the decisions of heart.
Why sittest thou between the sheepfolds?
To hear the piping to the flocks?
At the streams of Reuben great are the searchings of heart.
Gilead beyond the Jordan dwells,
And Dan, why sojourns he in ships?
Asher sits at the shore of the sea,
And on his harbours dwells.

THE BATTLE AND THE FLIGHT.

Zebulun is a people throwing away its soul to death,
And Napthali on the high places of the field.

There came kings, and fought;
Then fought kings of Canaan —
At Taanach, on the waters of Megiddo;
Gain of silver took they not.
From Heaven they fought;
The stars from their courses
Fought with Sisera.
The torrent of Kishon swept them away,
The ancient torrent, the torrent Kishon.
Trample down, O my soul, their strength.
Then stamped the hoofs of the horses,
From the plungings and plungings of the mighty ones.

THE FLIGHT.

Curse ye Meroz, said the messenger of Jehovah;
Curse ye with a curse the inhabitants thereof;
Because they came not to the help of Jehovah,
To the help of Jehovah, with the heroes.

THE DESTROYER.

Blessed above women be Jael,
The wife of Heber the Kenite,
Above women in the tent, blessed!
Water he asked, milk she gave;
In a dish of the nobles she offered him curds.
Her hand she stretched out to the tent pin,
And her right hand to the hammer of the workmen;
And hammered Sisera, and smote his head,
And beat and struck through his temples.

Between her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay,
Between her feet he bowed, he fell;
Where he bowed, there he fell down slaughtered.

THE MOTHER.

Through the window stretched forth and lamented
The mother of Sisera through the lattice:
" Wherefore delays his car to come?
" Wherefore tarry the wheels of his chariots?"[1]

The wise ones of her princesses answer her,
Yea, she repeats their answer to herself:
" Surely they are finding, are dividing the prey,
" One damsel, two damsels for the head of each hero.
" Prey of divers colours for Sisera,
" Prey of divers colours, of embroidery,
" One of divers colours, two of embroidery, for the neck
" [of the[2] prey]."

THE TRIUMPH.

So perish all Thy enemies, O Jehovah;
But they that love Thee are as the sun, when he goes forth like a giant.

[1] A remarkable parallel to this is to be seen in the Greek Klephtic songs, belonging to a somewhat similar stage of society.

[2] *Shellal*, "prey," is the reading of the Received Text, for which Ewald proposes to substitute *shegal* (the queen). Otherwise the connection of the word "prey" must be supplied.

LECTURE XV.

GIDEON.

In the defeat of Sisera the last attempt of the old inhabitants to recover their sway was put down. The next event is wholly different. It is the invasion of the tribes of the adjoining desert. The name of Midian, though sometimes given peculiarly to the tribe on the south-east shores of the Gulf of [1] Akaba, was extended to all Arabian tribes on the east of the Jordan—"the Amalekites, and all the children of the East." They have already appeared at the time of the first passage of Israel through the Transjordanic territory. In this, as on the former occasion, they are governed by Princes or Chiefs whose names are preserved. Two superior chiefs having the title of "king," [2] Zeba and Zalmunna; two inferior, Oreb and Zeeb,—"the Raven and the Wolf"—bearing the title of [3] "princes." Their appearance is brought vividly before us. Like the Arab chiefs of modern days, they are dressed in gorgeous scarlet [4] robes; on their necks and the necks of their camels are crescent-like ornaments, such as were afterwards worn by Jewish ladies of [5] high rank. All of them wore rings, either nose-rings or [6] ear-rings of gold. The Midianites.

When these wild tribes, taking advantage perhaps of the weakening of the intervening kingdoms of Ammon and Moab, burst upon the country, their fierce aspect struck consternation wherever they went. "Let us take to ourselves the *pastures* of [7] God"—so in true nomadic phrase

[1] 1 Kings xi. 18. See Ewald, ii. 435, &c.
[2] Judg. viii. 5.
[3] *Ibid.* vii. 25.
[4] *Ibid.* viii. 26.
[5] *Ibid.* viii. 26; and Isa. iii. 10, 18.
[6] Gen. xxiv. 4, 7; xxxv. 4.
[7] Ps. lxxxiii. 12.

they are supposed to speak. They overran the whole country. Like the Bedouins who now make incursions into the plains of Esdraelon and Philistia; like the Scythians, who in the reign of Josiah spread southward "as far[1] as Gaza;" so they, reaching to the same limits, were to be seen everywhere, with their innumerable tents and camels, like the sand in the bay of Acre,—like one of those terrible armies of locusts described by the Prophet [2]Joel.

The flight of the Israelites.

The panic was proportionably great. The Israelite population left the plains and took refuge in the hills. Three places of refuge are specially mentioned. First, the catacombs or galleries which they cut out of the rock, which are mentioned only in this place, and which, apparently, were pointed out, in after times, as the memorials of these [3]troubled days. Secondly, the craggy peaks, such as the rock of Rimmon and the inaccessible Masada. Thirdly, the limestone caves, here first mentioned, and afterwards often used, like the Corycian cave in Greece, during the Persian invasion, and the caves of the Asturias in Spain, during the occupation of the Moors. It was returning to the old Troglodyte habits of the [4]Horites and Phœnicians.

Gideon.

From this great calamity Israel was rescued by a great deliverer — the most heroic of all the characters of this period.

As in the other invasions and oppressions, so here, the deliverer is to be sought in the locality nearest to the chief scene of the invasion. Overhanging the plain of Esdraelon, where the vast army of the Midianites was encamped, were the hills of the Western Manasseh. It was from a [5]small family of this proud tribe that the champion of Israel

[1] Zeph. ii. 5–6; Judg. vi. 4.

[2] Joel ii. 1—11.

[3] Judg. vi. 2; Rosenmüller *ad loc.* Comp. Job xxviii. 10.

[4] Job xxx. 6. Herder, *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 74.

[5] Judg. vi. 15; viii. 2. "My thousand is the poor one," Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 17 (the thousands, *i. e. families*, of Manasseh).

unexpectedly rose. There had already been collisions between them and the invaders. As in the time of Barak, so now the northern tribes seem to have met at the sanctuary of Mount Tabor, and there the elder sons of Joash the Abiezrite had been overtaken and slain by the Midianite [1] kings. They were a magnificent family — every one of them was like a Prince. And not the least regal was the sole survivor, Gideon. He was apparently the youngest; but had already one high-spirited son — the boy [2] Jether. Even in the depressed state of his country and family, he kept up a dignity of his own. He had his [3] ten slaves and his armour-bearer, whose name, Phurah, has been preserved to us in the celebrity of his [4] master. His name was already great, as a [5] "mighty hero," both amongst the Israelites and their invaders. It was whilst he was brooding over the wrongs of his family and his country that the call came upon [6] him. The scene was long preserved, and the manner of the call carries us back to the visions of the Patriarchal age.

The massacre on Mount Tabor.

There were vineyards round his native [7] Ophrah, and by the winepress, in which the grapes would be trodden out in the coming autumn, he now, in the summer months, doubtless with his father's [8] bullocks, was threshing out the newly gathered wheat. Close by the smooth level was a cave, into which the juice of the grapes ran off through a channel cut in the rocky reservoir, and which Gideon now used to hide the corn from the rapacious invaders. Above this cave, as it would seem, stood a rock, in the midst of a grove of trees, amongst which the most conspicuous was a well-known terebinth, spreading its wide branches alike over the rock and the winepress. The grove was dedicated (so deeply had

The vision at Ophrah.

[1] Judg. viii. 18.
[2] *Ibid.* 20.
[3] *Ibid.* vi. 27.
[4] *Ibid.* vii. 10.
[5] *Ibid.* vi. 12, 29; vii. 14.
[6] *Ibid.* 15; viii. 19.
[7] *Ibid.* viii. 2.
[8] *Ibid.* vi. 25, 26.

the Canaanitish worship spread even into the purest families) to Astarte. The rock, with an altar on its summit, was consecrated to Baal, and was venerated as a [1] stronghold or asylum by the neighbourhood. A Prophet — [2] whose name is not preserved to us — had already been amongst the people, with warnings and encouragements. The message to Gideon is described in language of a more mysterious and solemn kind. "A messenger of the Lord" — a youth, [3] according to the tradition in Josephus — suddenly appears, leaning on a staff. The meal which Gideon had prepared for him beneath the terebinth becomes a sacrifice. The sacrifice is laid on the summit of the consecrated rock, as upon a natural altar. At the touch of the wayfarer's staff it is consumed in flames, and the heavenly messenger vanishes amidst the cries of alarm which the terrified Gideon utters at the consciousness of the Divine Presence, till he receives the assurance of "the Peace of Jehovah."

There may be difficulties in the details of this narrative. But it faithfully exhibits the twofold call to Gideon which forms the framework of the rest of his history.

The overthrow of the worship of Baal.

1. The first call, which is less distinctly described, is the mission — almost of a prophetic character — to strike a decisive blow at the growing tendency to Phœnician worship in the central tribes of Palestine. On the morning, we are told, of the following day, the villagers assembled for their worship. They found that the consecrated trees were cut down. Their ashes were seen on the rock. A bullock had been consumed whole in the flames of the pile that had been heaped up. The altar had been swept away, and another new altar reared in its place to receive this sacrificial pile. The answer of Joash to those who charged his

[1] The word *Maoz*, used for it in Judg. vi. 26, though employed in the poetical books, occurs here alone in prose.

[2] Judg. vi. 8.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* v. 6, §8.

son with this act of sacrilege, is based on that grand principle which runs through so large a part of the history of the Jewish Church — that the real impiety is in those who believe that God cannot defend Himself. "Will ye take upon "yourselves to plead Baal's cause? Let Baal plead for [1] him-"self." Of this struggle, and of this iconoclasm, two distinct memorials remained. One was the new altar which remained into the times of the monarchy on the sacred rock, bearing in its name an allusion to the events which caused its [2] erection — JEHOVAH, PEACE. The other was the name adopted by Gideon, and perpetuated in different forms as Jerub-baal, Jerub-bosheth, Hierobaal, and Hierombal. Either as the destroyer of the old, or the constructor of the new sanctuary, of which he afterwards became the Priest and Oracle, this name remained side by side with that which he bore as the deliverer from [3] Midian, and was the one which, alone of the names of this period, penetrated into the [4] Gentile world.

2. The second call is that by which in later times Gideon has been chiefly known — the war of insurrection against Midian. His own character is well indicated in the sign of the [5] fleece — cool in the heat of all around, dry when all around were damped by fear. Throughout we see three great qualities, decision, caution, and magnanimity. The summons, as usual, by the well-known horn, first convenes his own clan of Abiezer; next, his own tribe of Manasseh; and lastly, the three northern tribes. Zebulun and Naphtali are still the faithful amongst the faithless, the nucleus of independence, as in the war of Deborah, as in the final war of Jewish patriotism against Rome. Asher has this time left

The insurrection against Midian.

[1] Judg. vi. 31. Compare Gamaliel's speech, Acts v. 38, 39.

[2] Judg. vi. 23, 24.

[3] Judg. vii. 1; viii. 29; 1 Sam. xii. 11.

[4] For Hierobaal see LXX. For Hierombal see Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* i. 9; Ewald, ii.

[5] Ewald, ii. 500.

his home by the shores of Accho; but Issachar, overrun by the Arab tribes, is absent.

The career of Gideon is more than a battle, it is a campaign or war, which divides itself into three parts.

The battle of Jezreel.

The first is the battle of Jezreel. The Midianite encampment was on the northern side of the valley, between Gilboa and Little Hermon. The Israelite encampment was on the slope of Mount Gilboa, by the spring of Jezreel, called,

The Spring of Trembling.

from the incident of this time, "the Spring of Trembling." There had been the usual war-cry—"What man is there that is "fearful and faint-hearted? Let him go and return unto his "house, lest his brethren's heart faint as well as his [1] heart." It was modified on this occasion by its adaptation either to the peculiar war-cry of Manasseh, or to the actual scene of the encampment—"Whosoever is afraid, let him return from Mount [2] Gilead," or (according to another reading) "from Mount Gilboa." This had removed the cowards from the army. The next step was to remove the [3] rash. At the brink of the spring, those who rushed headlong down to quench their thirst, throwing themselves on the ground, or plunging their mouths into the water, were rejected, those who took up the water in their hands, and lapped it with self-restraint, were chosen.

Gideon, thus left alone with his three hundred men, now needed an augury for himself. This was granted to him. It was night, when he and his armour-bearer descended from their secure position above the spring to the vast army below. They reached the outskirts of the tents amidst the deep silence which had fallen over the encampment, where the thousands of Arabs lay wrapt in sleep or resting from their plunder, with their innumerable camels moored in peaceful repose around them. One of the

[1] Deut. xx. 8.

[2] Judg. vii. 3. See Lecture IX.

[3] This, in the Koran (ii. 250–252), is ascribed to Saul.

sleepers, startled from his slumbers, was telling his dream to his fellow. A thin round cake of barley bread, of the most [1] homely bread, from those rich corn fields, those numerous threshing places, those deep ovens sunk in the ground, which they had been plundering, came rolling into the camp, till it reached the royal tent in the centre, which fell headlong before it, and was turned over and over, till it lay flat upon the ground. Like the shadow of Richard, which, centuries later, was believed to make the Arab horses start at the sight of a bush, one name only seemed to occur as the interpretation of this sign: "The sword of Gideon, the son of Joash." The Awful Listener heard the good omen, bowed himself to the ground in thankful acknowledgement of it, and disappeared up the mountain side. The sleepers and the dreamers slept on to be waked up by the blast of the pastoral horns, and at the same moment the crashing of the three hundred pitchers, and the blaze of the three hundred torches, and the shout of Israel, always terrible, which broke through the stillness of the midnight air from three opposite quarters at once. In a moment the camp was rushing hither and thither in dark confusion, with the dissonant "cries" peculiar to the Arab race. Every one drew his sword against every other, and the host fled headlong down the descent to the Jordan, to the spots known as the House of the Acacia, and the margin of the Meadow of the Dance.

The panic.

Their effort was to cross the river at the fords of Bethbarah. It was immediately under the mountains of Ephraim, and to the Ephraimites accordingly messengers were sent to interrupt the passage. The great tribe, roused at last, was not slow to move. By the time that they reached the river, the two greater chiefs had already crossed, and the encounter took place with the two lesser chiefs, Oreb and Zeeb. They

The battle of the Rock of Oreb.

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* v. 6, § 4. Thomson's *Land and Book*, p. 449.

were caught and slain: one at a winepress, known afterwards as the winepress of Zeeb, or the Wolf; the other on a rock, which from him took the name of the Rock of Oreb, or the Raven; round which, or upon which, the chief carnage had taken place,—so that the whole battle was called in [1]after times, "The Slaughter of Midian at the Rock of Oreb." The Ephraimites passed the Jordan, and overtook Gideon, and presented to him the severed heads. Their remonstrance at not having before been called to take part in the struggle, is as characteristic of the growing pride of Ephraim, as his answer is of the forbearance and calmness which places him at the summit of the heroes of this age. The gleaning of Ephraim in the bloody heads of those chieftains, he told them, was better than the full vintage of slaughter, in the unknown multitudes, by the little family of Abi-ezer.

He, meantime, was in full chase of his enemies. "Faint, yet pursuing," is the expressive description of the union of exhaustion and energy which has given the words a place in the religious feelings of mankind. Succoth and Penuel, the two scenes of Jacob's early life, on the track of his entrance from the East, as of the Midianites' return towards it, were Gideon's two halting-places—the little settlement in the Jordan valley, now grown into a flourishing town, with its eighty-seven chiefs,—the lofty watch-tower overlooking the country far and wide. At Karkor, far in the desert, beyond the usual range of the nomadic tribes, he fell upon the Arabian host. They [2] had fled with a confusion which could only be compared to clouds of chaff and weeds flying before the blast of a furious hurricane, or the rapid spread of a conflagration where the flames leap from tree to tree and from hill to hill in the dry forests of the mountains; and in the midst of this were taken the two leaders of the horde, Zeba and Zalmunna.

The battle of Karkor.

[1] Isa. x. 26.

[2] Ps. lxxxiii. 9–11. See Mr. Grove on OREB in the *Dict. of Bible.*

Then came the triumphant return, and the vengeance on the two cities for their inhospitalities. The tower of the Divine Vision was razed; the chiefs of Succoth were beaten to death with the thorny branches of the neighbouring acacia groves. The two kings of Midian, in all the state of royal Arabs, were brought before the conqueror on their richly caparisoned dromedaries. They replied with all the spirit of Arab chiefs to Gideon, who for a moment almost gives way to his gentler feelings at the sight of such fallen grandeur. But the remembrance of his brothers' blood on Mount Tabor steels his heart, and when his boy, Jether, shrinks from the task of slaughter, he takes their lives with his own hand, and gathers up the vast spoils, the gorgeous dresses and ornaments, with which they and their camels were loaded.

How signal the deliverance was, appears from its many memorials: the name of Gideon's altar, of the [1] spring of Harod, of the rock of Oreb, of the winepress of Zeeb; whilst the Prophets and Psalmist allude again and again to details not mentioned in the history — "The rod of the oppressor "broken as in the day of [2] Midian"—the wild panic of "the "confused noise and garments rolled in blood" — the streams of blood that flowed round "the rock of Oreb" — the insulting speeches, and the desperate rout, as before fire and tempest, of the four chiefs whose names passed even into a curse — "Make thou their nobles like Oreb and Zeeb, yea, "all their princes like Zeba and Zalmunna."

But the most immediate proof of the importance of this victory was that it occasioned the first direct attempt to establish the kingly office, and render it perpetual in the house of Gideon. "Rule thou over us, both thou and thy "son, and thy son's son: for thou hast delivered us from the "hand of Midian." Gideon declines the office. But he

Royal state of Gideon.

[1] Mistranslated "well" in the Authorized Version.

[2] Isa. ix. 4; x. 26; Ps. lxxxiii. 9-11.

reigns, notwithstanding, in all but regal state. His vast [1] military mantle receives the spoils of the whole army. He combines, like David, the sacerdotal and the regal power. An image, clothed with a sacred ephod, is made of the Midianite spoils, and his house at Ophrah becomes a sanctuary, and he apparently is known even to the [2] Phœnicians as a Priest. He adopts, like David, the unhappy accompaniment of royalty, polygamy, with its unhappy consequences. It is evident that we have reached the climax of the period. We feel "all the [3] goodness" of Gideon. There is a sweetness and nobleness, blended with his courage, such as lifts us into a higher region — something of the past greatness of Joshua, something of the future grace of David. But he was, as we should say, before his age. The attempt to establish a more settled form of government ended in disaster and crime. He himself remains as a character apart, faintly understood by others, imperfectly fulfilling his own ideas, staggering under a burden to which he was not equal. In his union of superstition and true religion, in his mysterious loneliness of situation, he recalls to us one of the greatest characters of heathen history, with the additional interest of the high sacred element. "His "mind rose above the state of things and men;" so we may apply to him what has been said of Scipio Africanus — "his "spirit was solitary and kingly; he was cramped by living "amongst those as his equals whom he felt fitted to guide as "from a higher sphere; and he retired to his native" Ophrah "to breathe freely, since he could not fulfil his natural call-"ing to be a [4] hero-king."

The career of Gideon, so poetical, so elevated, so complete in itself, seems at first sight but unevenly combined with the impotent conclusion of the prosaic and almost secular

[1] Judg. viii. 25 (Hebrew).
[2] Eus. *Pr. Ev.* i. 9.
[3] Judg. viii. 35.
[4] Arnold's *Rome*, iii. 314.

story of Abimelech. But this story has an interest of its own, independently of the grander narrative to which it is a close sequel in the liveliness of its details.

We are suddenly introduced for the first and only time in the Book of Judges to the ancient capital of the nation in Shechem. In that beautiful and venerable city, the old inhabitants had still lingered, after the conquest. One of the maidens of the city had become a [1]slave of the great Gideon, and by her he had added another son to his already numerous offspring. Abimelech inherited the daring energy of his father, without his self-control and magnanimity. He determined to avail himself, on the one hand, of the growing tendency to a monarchical form of government ("Is "it better that threescore and ten persons or that one reign "over you?"); and, on the other hand, he appealed to the common element of race between himself and the subject Shechemites, like our Henry, the first Norman son of a Saxon mother, "Remember that I am your bone and your [2]flesh." To this appeal they at once responded, "He is our brother." From the [3]treasury of the sanctuary, which they in league with the neighbouring cities had established, they granted him a subsidy; and with this and a body of insurgents he marched on Ophrah, where his seventy brothers still held their aristocratic court, and slew the whole family on "one stone," probably on that same consecrated rock whence, years before, his father had thrown down the altar of Baal. It is the first recorded instance of the dreadful usage of Oriental monarchies — "the slaughter of the brothers of kings," which has continued down to our own days in the Turkish Empire, and has passed long ago into Bacon's famous proverb. To Shechem, his birthplace, and the seat of the ancient government of Joshua, of the future monarchy of Israel,

Rise of Abimelech.

[1] Judg. viii. 31. [2] *Ibid.* ix. 2. [3] See Lecture XIII.

Abimelech retired in triumph; and there, beside the oak whence Joshua had addressed the nation, where probably in after days the princes of Israel were inaugurated, Abimelech received, the first in the sacred history, the name of KING. It was in the midst of this festive solemnity that a voice was heard from the heights of Gerizim, memorable in this crisis of Shechem, but memorable also in the history of the Church, for it is the first recorded PARABLE. One only child of the family of Gideon had escaped — Jotham, who in this quaint address developes the quiet humour and sagacity of his father and grandfather, who had each turned away the wrath of their hearers by a short apologue. He from his concealment had suddenly presented himself on one of the rocky spurs that project from Gerizim over the valley, probably from the conspicuous cliff that rises precipitously above what must have been the exact situation of the ancient Shechem. From that lofty [1] pulpit, inaccessible, but audible from below, he broke forth, no doubt in the chant or loud lament in which Eastern story-tellers recite their tales, with the fable, describing the disadvantages of government and of monarchy in all countries, but drawn from the very imagery which lay beneath him at the moment. It is the earliest parable. Like all the parables of the earlier times of the Jewish nation, it turns on the vegetable world. The [2] vine, the cedar, the thistle, in the fables of Palestine, take the place which, in the fables of India or of Greece, is occupied by the talking beasts or birds. His eye rested on that unparalleled mass of living verdure in which, alone of all the cities of Palestine, Shechem is embosomed. He imagined the ancient days of the earth when all those trees were endued with human instincts and human speech, and bade his hearers listen to them as they gathered themselves together in that green coun-

Parable of Jotham.

[1] This was pointed out to me by Dr. Rosen in 1862.

[2] Judg. ix. 12; Isa. v. 1; 2 Kings xiv. 9.

cil to elect their king. First (so we may fill up the outline which then must have been supplied by the actual sight of the hearers) came all the lower trees to the chief of all that grow in that fertile valley — the venerable Olive. But the Olive could not leave his useful and noble task of supplying the sacred purposes of God and man, and remained rooted in his ancient place. Next they approached the broad green shade of the Fig-tree. But he, too, had the delicious sweetness of his good fruit to care for, and his answer was the same as that of the Olive. Then they addressed the luxuriant Vine, as he threw his festoons from tree to tree, along the side of the hill. But the Vine clings to his appointed work of "cheering God and man," and he, too, abjured the idle state of monarchy. One and all the nobler trees were the true likenesses of the noble race of Gideon — in his usefulness, his sweetness, and his gaiety of speech and life. It was to a lower growth that the trees must descend before they could find any that would undertake the thankless task of ruler. The Briar, the Bramble, the Thorn that crept along the barren side of the mountain, or under the cover of the walls of the vineyard or the orchard, had no loftier cares to distract him from the calling they proposed. It was the Briar, with which, doubtless then, as now in the sacrificial feast on Mount Gerizim, huge fires were kindled; and from him, useless and idle as he seemed to be, a blaze would come forth in which friends and foes alike would burn — a wide-spreading conflagration which would fly from hill to hill, till it swept within its range the distant cedars of Lebanon. This was the true likeness of the worthless but fierce Abimelech, of the first tyrant of the Jewish nation. So, from the rock, the youthful Seer pronounced his curse — in that faithful picture of the degraded politics of a degenerate or a half-civilized state, when only the worst take any concern in public interests, when all that is good and noble turns away in disgust from so thankless

and vulgar an ambition. He spoke like the Bard of the English Ode, and, before the startled assembly below could reach the rocky pinnacle where he stood, he was gone. Immediately behind him (if we have rightly conjectured the spot where he stood) vast caverns open in the mountain side. There he might halt for the moment. But he stayed not till he was far away in the south, perhaps beyond the [1] Jordan.

Internal state of Shechem.

The three years' reign of Abimelech which follows discloses to us the interior of society in this centre of Palestine. That light which the inventive genius of Walter Scott and the brilliant exaggeration of Thierry threw on the complicated relations of Anglo-Saxon and Norman long after the Conquest of England, is thrown by this simple and vivid narrative on the like relations of Canaanite and Israelite after the Conquest of Palestine. The supporters of Abimelech, as we have seen, were the native Shechemites — the "lords" of Shechem, as they are called, by a name specially appropriate to the native races of [2] Canaan. This remnant of the original population, with the adherents gained from amongst the conquerors, had elevated Shechem into a kind of metropolitan dignity amongst the neighbouring towns; who thus formed a religious league, of which the Temple was at Shechem, under the name of Baal-Berith, or Baal of the League. Beth-Millo, Arumah, Thebez, are named as amongst the dependent cities. The Temple [3] itself was a [4] fortress, containing the [5] Sacred Treasury.

[1] "He fled to Beer." Ewald conjectures that it was the Beer of Num. xxi. 16, on the frontier of Moab. If this seems too remote, it may be Beeroth, in the tribe of Benjamin (the modern Bireh), or Baalath-Beer, in Judah.

[2] *Baali-Shechem*, translated "men of Shechem." It is thus used of Jericho, Josh. ii. 4; xxiv. 11: and of Uriah the Hittite, 2 Sam. xi. 26. The word elsewhere is only applied to the warriors of Jabesh-Gilead, 2 Sam. xxi. 12; and the ruffians of Gibeah, Judg. xx. 5. (See *Dict. of Bible*, i. 146.)

[3] See Lecture XIII., and compare the parallel case of Jupiter Latiaris at Rome.

[4] Judg. ix. 46.

[5] *Ibid.* ix. 4.

Over this entangled system, Abimelech, the Bramble King, undertook to rule. He himself seems to have lived at one of the lesser towns of the league, [1] Arumah, leaving his vicegerent, Zebul, to govern his unruly kinsmen of Shechem. Zebul took advantage of the disorganized state of the country to place troops of banditti along the tops of the neighbouring mountains to plunder the travellers through Central Palestine. It was in the midst of this union of despotism and anarchy, that the Feast of the Vintage — chief among the festivals of Palestine — came on, with the usual religious pomp and [2] merriment with which it was celebrated in the Jewish Church during the Feast of Tabernacles; but at Shechem, in the precincts of the God of the League. In a population thus excited, the words of a native Shechemite fell with still greater force than those of Abimelech himself at the [3] commencement of what may be called this movement of the oppressed nationality. He pointed out to them that Abimelech was but half a kinsman — "Is he not the son of "Jerubbaal?" — and called upon them to choose their own native rulers — "Serve the men of Hamor the father of "Shechem; why should *we* serve him?"

Fall of Abimelech.

Zebul gives the alarm. By three desperate onslaughts the insurrection is quelled. In the first, we see the troops of Abimelech stealing over the mountain tops at break of day, by the well-known terebinth, and by some sacred spot called "the navel of the land." In the second, the main battle is fought in the wide cornfields at the [4] opening of the valley of Shechem. This ends in the rout of the native party, now deprived of their chief, and the total destruction of the city of Shechem, to appear no more again till the time of the monarchy. In the third and last conflict, the remnant of the

[1] Judg. ix. 41.
[2] *Ibid.* 27.
[3] *Ibid.* 28. Ewald, ii. 335.
[4] "The *field*," Judg. ix. 42-44.

insurgents takes refuge in the lofty tower in the stronghold of the Temple of the League. Not far off was the mountain of [1]Zalmon, famous in the winter for its snow, in the summer for its shady forests. Thither the new king, with an energy worthy of his father, led his followers, axe in hand. Like a common woodcutter, he hewed down a bough and threw it over his shoulder. The whole band followed the royal example; and in the smoke and flames kindled round the fortress, the insurgents perished. One other stronghold of the mutiny remained — a similar fortress at [2]Thebez; and there, too, the same expedient was tried. Men and women alike, as at Shechem, were crowded within the tower, and mounted to the top. From this eminence they commanded a full view of the besiegers; and when the fearless king ran close to the gate to fire it with his own hands, one of the women above seized her opportunity and dashed upon his head a fragment of a millstone. He fell; but in his fall remembered the dignity of himself and of his race; and, like his next successor in the regal office, invoked the friendly sword of his armour-bearer to give him a soldier's death. In this violent end of a noble house, the nation recognized the Divine Judgment on the murderer of his brothers; in the sweeping destruction of the ancient Shechem, and the conflagration of its famous sanctuary, was recognized no less the fulfilment of the Curse of [3]Jotham. With Abimelech expired this first abortive attempt at monarchy. In the obscure rulers, who follow, the same tendency is still perceptible. Jair and Ibzan cause their state to descend to the numerous sons of their wives or concubines; and the dignity of Abdon reaches even to his [4]grandsons. But the true King of Israel is still far in the distance.

[1] Zalmon, "shady," Judg. ix. 48; Ps. lxviii. 15 (mis-spelt Salmon).

[2] Judg. ix. 50. Thebez probably survives in the modern village of *Tubas*, on a mound among the hills, ten miles N. E. of Nablûs.

[3] Judg. ix. 56, 57.

[4] *Ibid.* x. 9; xii. 9–14.

LECTURE XVI.

JEPHTHAH AND SAMSON.

As Gideon is the highest pitch of greatness to which this period reaches, Jephthah and Samson are the lowest points to which it descends. In them, in different forms, the violence of the age breaks out most visibly.

I. Jephthah is the wild, lawless freebooter. His irregular birth, in the half civilized tribes beyond the Jordan, is the keynote to his life. The whole scene is in those pastoral uplands. Not Bethel, or Shiloh, but Mizpeh, the ancient watch-tower which witnessed the parting of Jacob and Laban, is the place of meeting. Ammon, the ancient ally of Israel against Og, is the assailant. The war springs out of the disputes of that first settlement. The battle sweeps over the whole tract of [1] forest from Gilead to the borders of Moab. The quarrel which arises after the battle between the Transjordanic tribe and the proud western Ephraimites, is embittered by the recollection of taunts and quarrels, then, no doubt, full of gall and wormwood, now hardly intelligible. "Fugitives of Ephraim are ye: Gilead is among "the Ephraimites and among the Manassites." Was it, as Ewald conjectures, some allusion to the lost history of the days when the half tribe of Manasseh separated from its

Jephthah.

The Transjordanic character of the quarrel.

[1] "From Aroer"—to the "Meadow of the Vineyards," Judg. xi. 33. The intervening links are lost in a hopeless confusion of the text.

[2] Ewald, ii. 419, on Judg. xii. 4. This is almost equally the case if we adopt the version of the LXX.—"Ye are Gilead in the midst of Ephraim and in the midst of Manasseh."

Western brethren? If it was, the Gileadites had now their turn—"the fugitives of the Ephraimites," as they are called in evident allusion to the former taunt, are caught in their flight at the fords of the Jordan, the scene of their victory over the Midianites, and ruthlessly slain. The test put to them was a word of which the very meaning is now doubtful, but which, familiar then from its allusion to the "harvests" or [1] "floods" of Palestine, has revived in the warfare of Christian controversy, *Shibboleth.* Many a party watchword, many a theological test has had no better origin than this difference of pronunciation between the two rough tribes, which has thus appropriately become the type and likeness of all of them.

Shibboleth.

In the savage taunt of Jephthah to the Ephraimites, compared with the mild reply of Gideon to the same insolent tribe, we have a measure of the inferiority of Eastern to Western Palestine—of the degree to which Jephthah sank below his age, and Gideon rose above it. But in his own country, as well as in the Church at large, it is the other part of Jephthah's story which has been most keenly remembered. The fatal vow at the battle of Aroer belongs naturally to the spasmodic efforts of the age; like the vows of Samson or Saul in the Jewish Church of this period, or of Clovis or Bruno in the Middle Ages. But its literal execution could hardly have taken place had it been undertaken by any one more under the moral restraints, even of that lawless age, than the freebooter Jephthah, nor in any other part of the Holy Land than that separated by the Jordan valley from the more regular institutions of the country. Moab and Ammon, the neighbouring tribes to Jephthah's native country, were the parts of Palestine where human sacrifice lingered longest.

The vow.

[1] Both explanations are given of *Shibboleth.* Judg. xii. 6.

It was the first thought of [1]Balak in the extremity of his terror. It was the last expedient of Balak's successor in the war with [2]Jehoshaphat. Moloch, to whom even before they entered Palestine the Israelites had offered human [3]sacrifices, and who is always spoken of as the deity who was thus honoured, was especially the God of Ammon. It is but natural that a desperate soldier like Jephthah, breathing the same atmosphere, physical and social, should make the same vow, and having made it, adhere to it. There was no High Priest or Prophet at hand to rebuke it. They were far away in the hostile tribe of Ephraim. He did what was right in his own eyes, and as such the transaction is described. Mostly it is but an inadequate account to give of these doubtful acts to say that they are mentioned in the Sacred narrative without commendation. Often where no commendation is expressly given, it is distinctly implied. But here the story itself trembles with the mixed feeling of the action. The description of Jephthah's wild character prepares us for some dark catastrophe. The admiration for his heroism and that of his daughter struggles for mastery in the historian with indignation at the dreadful deed. He is overwhelmed by the natural grief of a father. "Oh! oh! "my daughter, thou hast crushed me, thou hast crushed "me!" *She* rises at once to the grandeur of her situation as the instrument whereby the victory had been won. If the fatal word had escaped his lips she was content to die, "forasmuch as the Lord hath taken vengeance of thee upon "thine enemies, even the children of Ammon." It is one of the points in Sacred History where, as before said, the likeness of classical times mingles with the Hebrew devotion. It recalls to us the story of Idomeneus and his son, of Agamemnon and Iphigenia. And still more closely do we draw near,

The Sacrifice.

[1] Micah vi. 7. [2] 2 Kings iii. 27. [3] Ezek. xx. 26; Jer. xlix. 1.

as our attention is fixed on the Jewish maiden, to a yet more pathetic scene. Her grief is the exact anticipation of the lament of Antigone, sharpened by the peculiar horror of the Hebrew women at a childless death — descending with no bridal festivity, with no nuptial torches to the dark chambers of the grave —

> ὦ τύμβος, ὦ νυμφεῖον, ὦ κατασκαφὴς
> οἴκησις ἀείφρουρος, οἵ πορεύομαι . . .
> καὶ νῦν ἄγει με διὰ χέρων οὕτω λάβων
> ἄλεκτρον, ἀνυμέναιον, οὔτε τοῦ γάμου
> μέρος λάχουσαν, οὔτε παιδείου τροφῆς.[1]

Into the mountains of Gilead she retires for two months — plunging[2] deeper and deeper into the gorges of the mountains, to bewail her lot, with the maidens who had come out with her to greet the returning conqueror. Then comes the awful end, from which the sacred writer, as it were, averts his eyes. "He did with her according to his vow." In her the house of Jephthah became extinct. "She knew no man." But for years afterwards, even to the verge of the monarchy, the dark deed was commemorated. Four days in every year the maidens of Israel went up into the mountains of Gilead, — and here the Hebrew language lends itself to the ambiguous feeling of the narrative itself, — "to[3] praise" or "to lament" "the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite."

The record which thus transparently represents the wavering thought of the Sacred Historian, has received also the reflections of the successive stages of feeling with which the Church has subsequently regarded the act. As far back as we can trace the sentiment of those who read the passage, in Jonathan the Targumist, and Josephus, and through the whole of the first eleven centuries of Christendom, the story was taken in its literal sense as describing the death of the

[1] Soph. *Ant.* 890. [2] Judg. xi. 38 (Hebrew). [3] *Ibid.* 40.

maiden, although the attention of the Church was, as usual, diverted to distant allegorical [1] meanings. Then, it is said, from a polemical bias of Kimchi, arose the interpretation that she was not killed, but immured in celibacy. From the Jewish theology this spread to the Christian. By this time the notion had sprung up that every act recorded in the Old Testament was to be defended according to the standard of Christian morality; and, accordingly, the process began of violently wresting the words of Scripture to meet the preconceived fancies of later ages. In this way entered the hypothesis of Jephthah's daughter having been devoted as a nun; contrary to the plain meaning of the text, contrary to the highest authorities of the Church, contrary to all the usages of the old Dispensation. In modern times, a more careful study of the Bible has brought us back to the original sense. And with it returns the deep pathos of the original story, and the lesson which it reads of the heroism of the father and the daughter, to be admired and loved, in the midst of the fierce superstitions across which it plays like a sunbeam on a stormy sea.

Explanations of the Sacrifice.

So regarded, it may still be remembered with a sympathy at least as great as is given to the heathen immolations, just cited, which awaken a sentiment of compassion wherever they are known. The sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, taking it at its worst, was not a human sacrifice in the gross sense of the word — not a slaughter of an unwilling victim, as when the Gaul and Greek were buried alive in the Roman

[1] After a reasonable exposition, by Augustine (III, Part i. 613), of the general commendation implied in Heb. xi. 32, 33, Judg. xi. 39, as compatible with great faults ("Sacra Scriptura quorum fidem et justitiam veraciter laudat, non hinc impeditur eorum etiam peccata, si qua norit et oportere judicet, notare veraciter"), follows an explanation of Jephthah as "opener" ("He opened their hearts"); the land of Tob ("good"—the land of the resurrection); his daughter, "the Church;" 60 days, the 6 ages; 4 days, the 4 quarters of the world; 42,000 Ephraimites, 6 times 7; and Jephthah's 6 years, also the 6 ages.

Forum; but the willing offering of a devoted heart, to free, as she supposed, her father and her country from a terrible obligation. It was, indeed, as Josephus says, an act in itself hateful to God. But, nevertheless, it contained just that one redeeming feature of pure obedience and love, which is the distinguishing mark of all true Sacrifice, and which communicates to the whole story those elements of tenderness and nobleness well drawn out of it by two modern poets, to each of whom, in their different ways, may be applied what was said by Goethe of the first — that at least one function committed to him was that of giving life and form to the incidents and characters of the Old Testament.

"Though the virgins of Salem lament,
Be the judge and the hero unbent;
I have won the great battle for thee,
And my father and country are free.

"When this blood of thy giving has gush'd,
When the voice that thou lovest is hushed,
Let my memory still be thy pride,
And forget not I smiled as I died." [1]

Or, in the still more exact language of the more recent [2] poet —

"The daughter of the warrior Gileadite,
A maiden pure; as when she went along
From Mizpeh's tower'd gate with radiance light,
With timbrel and with song.

. . . . . .

"'My God, my land, my father — these did move
'Me from my bliss of life, that Nature gave,
'Lower'd softly with a threefold cord of love,
'Down to a silent grave.

[1] Lord Byron's *Hebrew Melodies.* [2] Tennyson's *Poems*, 197.

" ' And I went mourning, 'No fair Hebrew boy
' Shall smile away my maiden blame among
' The Hebrew mothers'; emptied of all joy,
' Leaving the dance and song,

" ' Leaving the olive-gardens far below,
' Leaving the promise of my bridal bower,
' The valleys of grape-loaded vines that glow
' Beneath the battled tower.

. . . . . .

" ' When the next moon was roll'd into the sky,
' Strength came to me, that equall'd my desire —
' How beautiful a thing it was to die
' For God and for my sire!

" ' It comforts me in this one thought to dwell,
' That I subdued me to my father's will;
' Because the kiss he gave me, ere I fell,
' Sweetens the spirit still.

. . . . . .

" ' Moreover, it is written that my race
' Hew'd Ammon, hip and thigh, from Aroer
' On Arnon unto Minnith." . . .

Samson.

II. From the lawlessness of Jephthah on the extreme eastern frontier of Palestine, we pass to a manifestation of the same tendency in a different, but not less incontestable form, on the extreme western frontier. At the same time the new enemies, in whose grasp we now find the Israelites, remind us that we are approaching a new epoch in their history; that which is to close the period on which we are now engaged.

The Philistines.

"The Philistines" present themselves to our notice, if not absolutely for the first time, yet for the first time as a powerful and hostile nation. In the original conquest by Joshua, they are hardly mentioned. Their name appears to indicate

their late arrival — "the [1] Strangers;" and the scattered indications of their origin lead to the conclusion that they were settlers from some foreign country, from [2] Asia Minor and its adjacent islands, probably from Crete.

With this agree the notices of their character and pursuits. Like the Cretans, they were employed as mercenaries. Like the Cretans, too, they were distinguished amongst the marauding tribes for the strength and variety of their armour. The most complete vocabulary of arms that exists in the Old Testament is taken from the [3] panoply of a Philistine warrior. Unlike the rest of the inhabitants of Canaan, they were uncircumcised, and appear to have stood on a lower level of civilization. They were almost, it may be said, the laughing-stock of their livelier and quicker neighbours, from their dull, heavy, stupidity; the easy prey of the rough humour of Samson, or the agility and cunning of the diminutive David.

The older Avites whom they dispossessed, probably occupied the southern part of the [4] country, generally called in the Patriarchal History "the valley of Gerar." Possibly the Philistines may have been called in by them as allies against the invading Israelites, and then, as in the ancient [5] fable, made themselves their masters. Possibly, also, they may have become so closely incorporated with them, as to produce that interchange of names which, in some of the [6] Sacred Books,

[1] The LXX. throughout the Pentateuch and Joshua keep the Hebrew word Φυλιστιείμ, but in all the subsequent books translate it ἀλλόφυλοι "aliens." Comp. ἀλλότριων, Heb. xi. 34. (Ewald, i. 292—294.)

[2] In Gen. x. 14, 1 Chron. i. 12., they are derived together with *Caphtorim*, from Casluhim, son of Mizraim; and in Amos ix. 7, Deut. ii. 23, Jer. xlvii. 4, from *Caphtor*. *Caphtor* by the LXX. is rendered *Cappadocia*. But probably the country directly or indirectly intended is *Crete*. *Cherethite* and *Philistine*, in Zeph. ii. 5, Ezek. xxv. 16, 1 Sam. xxx. 14, and apparently 2 Sam. xx. 23, 2 Kings xi. 4, 19, are used as synonymous terms; and this is confirmed not only by the characteristics mentioned in the text, but by the confused statement of Tacitus that the Jews themselves came from Crete (Hist. v. 2), and by the name of *Minoa* given to Gaza (Steph. Byz.).

[3] 1 Sam. xvii. 5—7.

[4] Deut. ii. 23; Josh. xiii. 3.

[5] Comp. Ewald, i. 310.

[6] As in Gen. xxi. 34, xxvi. 18; Ex. xv. 14; xiii. 17.

has identified the earlier with the later race. The gigantic stature, too, which marks some of the Philistine families, may have arisen from their connection with the aboriginal giants, who [1] lingered in the maritime plains after their expulsion from the nations.

In these maritime plains, the [2] "Shefela" or "Low Country," as it was called, on the south-west of Canaan, was their original seat after their first settlement; and in this situation lay their security, as that of the northern Phœnicians, against the mountain infantry of Israel. Chariots and horses with them, as with their Phœnician neighbours on the north, and their Egyptian neighbours on the south, formed their chief strength. Unlike the Phœnicians, they were indisposed to commerce. Of the three possible harbours on their unbroken line of sandy coast near Gaza, Ascalon, and Jabneel, they made no use. The only traces of their [3] maritime origin and situation were to be found in their worship. Their chief deity was the fish god [4] Dagon, whose image was that of the trunk of a fish with the head and hands of a man. Some slight indications of the architecture of his chief temple are given, its [5] doorway, and its two massive [6] pillars, supporting the roof and standing sufficiently close together to be embraced at once. The traces of his worship were scattered throughout the country; in the numerous "houses of [7] Dagon," of which the names still linger in different parts of the south of Palestine. A similar form was ascribed to the female divinity, [8] Derceto, who in their mythology took the place of Astarte. The only other special deity of the Philistines [9] known to us, is Baal-Zebub, "the Lord of "the Flies," who had a sanctuary in Ekron, as Dagon and

[1] Josh. xi. 22.

[2] *Sinai and Palestine*, 256.

[3] In the LXX. version of 1 Sam. v. 6, it is said that "the hand of the Lord brake out against their *ships*." But this may be a misreading.

[4] 1 Sam. v. 4. The word is the same as in the river *Tagus*.

[5] 1 Sam. v. 5.

[6] Judg. xvi. 25—29.

[7] Josh. xv. 41; and see *Dict. of Bible*, "Beth-Dagon."

[8] Diod. Sic. ii. 4.

[9] 2 Kings i. 2-16.

Derceto had theirs in Ashdod, Gaza, and [1] Ascalon. These, with Gath, formed the original federation of the nation; each raised on its slight eminence above the plain, and ruled by its own king or prince. Their main support, and the main value of their country, lay in the vast corn-fields, which almost without a break reached from the sandy shore to the foot of the Judæan hills; and which even to the Israelites furnished a resource in case of [2] famine. Such were the Philistines, the longest and deadliest enemies of the Chosen People, whose hostilities, commencing in the close of the period of the Judges, lasted through the two first reigns of the monarchy, and were not finally extinguished till the time of [3] Hezekiah, and who yet, by a singular chance, have, through the contact of the Western world with their strip of coast, succeeded in giving it their own name of "Philistia" or "Palestine," [4] properly confined within that narrow strip, to the whole country occupied by Israel.

Of all the tribes of Israel, that on which these new comers pressed most heavily was the small tribe of Dan, already straitened between the mountains and the sea, and communicating with its seaport Joppa only by passing through the Philistine territory. Out of this tribe, accordingly, the deliverer came. It was in [5] Zorah, planted on a high conical hill overlooking the plain, which from its peculiar relation to these hills was called "the root of [6] Dan," that the birth of the child took place, who was by a double tie connected with the history of this peculiar period, as the first conqueror of the Philistines, and as the first recorded instance of a Nazarite. In both respects he was the beginner of that work which a far greater than he, the Prophet Samuel, carried to a com-

Birth of Samson.

[1] Judg. xvi. 23; 1 Chron. x. 10; 1 Macc. x. 84.
[2] 2 Kings viii. 2.
[3] *Ibid.* xviii. 8.
[4] "Palestine" was the Gentile name for the Holy Land. In the A. V. it is always used for Philistia. (See *Palestine*, in *Dict. of Bible.*)
[5] Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 153.
[6] See *Sinai and Palestine*, 278.

pletion. But what in Samuel were but subordinate functions, in Samson were supreme, and in him were further united with an eccentricity of character and career that gives him an absolutely singular position amongst the Israelite heroes.

The Nazarites.

It was, as we have remarked, the age of vows, and it is implied in the account that such special vows as that which marked the life of Samson were common. The order of Nazarites, which we find actually described in the code of the Mosaic Law, was already in existence. It was the nearest [1] approach to a monastic institution that the Jewish Church contained. It was, as its name implies, a separation from the rest of the nation; partly by the abstinence from all intoxicating drink, partly by the retention of the savage covering of long flowing tresses of hair. The order thus begun continued to the latest times. Not only was Samuel thus devoted, but Elijah in outward appearance was under the same rule; in the time of [2] Amos, there was a flourishing institution of Nazarites; and at the very close of the Jewish Church there were at least two who bore in their habits and aspect the likeness of the earliest of these ascetics — [3] John, the son of Zachariah, the austere preacher in the wilderness, and [4] Jacob, or James, the Bishop of the Christian Church at Jerusalem. It was as the first fruits of this institution, no less than as his country's champion, that the birth of Samson is ushered in with a solemnity of inauguration which, whether we adopt the more coarse and [5] literal representation of Josephus, or the more shadowy and refined representation of the Sacred narrative, seems to announce the coming of a greater event than that which is comprised in the merely warlike career of the conqueror of the Philistines.

[1] See Ewald, *Alterthümer*, 97, &c.
[2] Amos ii. 11.
[3] Luke i. 15.
[4] Hegesippus, in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23.
[5] Josephus (*Ant.* v. 8. § 2. 3) represents "the angel" or "man of God" as a youth of transcendent beauty, who excites the frantic jealousy of Manoah.

His austerity.

Wherever the son of Manoah appeared in later life, he was always known by the Nazarite mark. Like the Merovingian kings, whose long tresses were the sign of their royal race, which to lose was to lose royalty itself — like the hierarchy of the Eastern Church, whose long beards are in like manner the inalienable sign of their priestly functions — so the early vow of Samson's mother was always testified by his shaggy, untonsured head, and by the seven sweeping [1] locks, twisted together, yet distinct, which hung over his shoulders; and in all his wild wanderings and excesses amidst the vineyards of Sorek and Timnath he is never reported to have touched the juice of one of their abundant grapes.

His humour.

But these were his only indications of an austere life. It is one of the many distinctions between the manners of the East and West, between ancient and modern forms of religious feeling, that the character of the Jewish chief who most nearly resembles the founder of a monastic order should be the most frolicsome, irregular, uncultivated, creature, that the nation ever produced. Not only was celibacy no part of his Nazarite obligations, but not even ordinary purity of life. He was full of the spirits and the pranks, no less than of the strength, of a giant. His name, which Josephus interprets in the sense of "strong," was still more characteristic. He was "the Sunny,"—the bright and beaming, though wayward likeness of the great luminary which the Hebrews delighted to compare to a "giant rejoicing to run his "course," "a bridegroom coming forth out of his [2] chamber." Nothing can disturb his radiant good-humour. His most valiant, his most cruel actions, are done with a smile on his face, and a jest in his mouth. It relieves his character from the sternness of Phœnician fanaticism. As a peal of hearty laughter breaks in upon the despondency of individual

[1] Judg. xvi. 3. [2] Psalm xix. 5.

sorrow, so the joviality of Samson becomes a pledge of the revival of the greatness of his nation. It is brought out in the strongest contrast with the brute coarseness and stupidity of his Philistine enemies, here, as throughout the Sacred History, the butt of Israelitish wit and Israelitish craft.

Look at his successive acts in this light, and they assume a new significance. Out of his first achievement he draws the materials for his playful riddle. His second and third achievements are practical jests on the largest scale. The mischievousness of the conflagration of the corn-fields, by means of the jackals, is subordinate to the ludicrousness of the sight, as, from the hill of Zorah, the contriver of the scheme must have watched the streams of fire spreading through corn-fields and orchards in the plain below. The whole point of the massacre of the thousand Philistines lies in the cleverness with which their clumsy triumph is suddenly turned into discomfiture, and their discomfiture is celebrated by the punning turn of the hero, not forgotten even in the exultation or the weariness of victory. "With "the jawbone of an *ass* have I slain one *mass*, two *masses;* "with the jawbone of an *ass* I have slain [1] an *ox*load of men." The carrying off the gates of Gaza derives all its force from the neatness with which the Philistine [2] watchmen are outdone, on the very spot where they thought themselves secure. The answers with which he puts off the inquisitiveness of Delilah derive their vivacity from the quaintness of the devices which he suggests, and the ease with which his foolish enemies fall into them, trap after trap, as if only to give their conqueror amusement. The closing scenes of his life breathe, throughout, the same terrible, yet grotesque irony. When the captive warrior is called forth, in the merriment of his persecutors, to exercise for the last time the well-

[1] So the original may be represented: Judg. xv. 16.

[2] Judg. xvi. 2, 3.

known raillery of his character, he appears as the great jester or buffoon of the nation; the word employed expresses alike the roars of laughter and the wild gambols with which he "made them sport;" and as he puts forth the last energy of his vengeance, the final effort of his expiring strength, it is in a stroke of broad and savage humour that his indignant spirit passes away. "O Lord Jehovah, remember me now; "and strengthen me now, only this once, O God, that I may "be avenged of the Philistines" [not for both of my lost "eyes — but] "for *one* of my two eyes." That grim playfulness, strong in death, lends its paradox even to the act of destruction itself, and overflows into the touch of triumphant satire with which the pleased historian closes the story; "The dead which he slew at his death were more than they "which he slew in his life."

Local colouring of his life.

These are the general features of Samson's life. The sudden [1] breaks in the narrative, showing more clearly than elsewhere the imperfect state in which the history of these times has come down to us, warn us off from a too close scrutiny of its details. But there is no portion of the sacred story more stamped with a peculiarly local colour. Unlike the heroes of Grecian, Celtic, or Teutonic romance, whose deeds are scattered over the whole country or the whole continent where they lived — Hercules, or Arthur, or Charlemagne, — the deeds of Samson are confined to that little corner of Palestine in which was pent up the fragment of the tribe to which he belonged. He is the one champion of Dan. To him, if to anyone, must be the reference in the blessing of Jacob; "Dan shall judge his people as one of the tribes of Israel." In his biting wit and cunning ambuscades, which baffled the horses and chariots of Philistia, must probably

The champion of Dan.

[1] Such are the gaps between Judg. xiii. 24 and 25; between xv. 20 and xvi. 1. (Ewald, ii. 529, &c.)

be seen "the serpent by the way, the adder in the path, that "biteth the horse's heels, so that his rider shall fall back-"wards." [1]

His first inspiration.

It was at a spot well known in the history of his tribe—in Mahaneh-Dan, or the "Camp of Dan"—that the first aspirations of his career showed themselves. There, underneath the mountains of Judah, the little band which broke away to the north at the commencement of this stormy period, had pitched their first [2] encampment, and there also was [3] the ancestral burial-place of his family. Amongst his fathers' tombs, and amidst the recollections of his fathers' exploits, "the Spirit of "Jehovah began to move him"—to strike, as the expression implies, on his rough nature [4] as on a drum or cymbal, till it resounded like a gong through his native hills.

His local exploits.

Then began what were literally his "descents" of love and of war upon the plain of Philistia from Zorah on the hills above. The vines on the slopes of these hills, the vineyards of Timnath and of Sorek, were famous throughout Palestine. It was probably amongst these, as the maidens whom the Benjamites surprised amongst the vineyards of Shiloh, that he met both his earliest and his latest love. The names of the surrounding villages bear traces of the wild animals whom he encountered, and used as instruments of his great exploits—Lebaoth ("the lionesses")[5], Shaalbim ("the jackals")[6], Zorah ("the hornets"). The cornfields of Philistia—then, as now, interspersed with [7] olive-groves, then, also, with vineyards—lay stretched in one

[1] Gen. xlix. 16, 17.

[2] Judg. xiii. 25; xviii. 12; Josh. xv. 33. See Lecture XIII.

[3] Judg. xvi. 31.

[4] *Ibid.* xiii. 25 (Hebrew).

[5] Josh. xv. 32, 33; Judg. i. 35.

[6] It is said that jackals exist, or did exist, in great numbers, in the plain of Ramleh, where they were hunted down and thrown into the sea. (Hasselquist, 115-277.) To set fire to the harvest of an enemy is in Arab warfare a mortal outrage. (Burckhardt, 331.)

[7] Judg. xv. 5.

unbroken expanse before him, to invite his facetious outrage. Once he wandered beyond the territory of his own tribe, and that of his enemies, but it was only into the neighbouring hills of Judah. In some deep cleft, such as doubtless could easily be found in the limestone hills around the vale of Etam (the Wady Urtâs), he took refuge. The Philistines then, as afterwards in David's time, had planted a [1] garrison in the neighbourhood. The Lion of Judah was cowed by their presence. "Knowest thou not the Philistines are rulers over us?" Out of the cleft he emerges, and sweeps them away with the rude weapon that first comes to hand. The spring and the [2] rock which witnessed the deed, though now lost, were long pointed out as memorials of the history. The scene of his death is the great Temple of the Fish God at Gaza, in the extremity of the Philistine district. But his grave was in the same spot which had nourished his first youthful hopes. From the time of Gideon downwards, the tombs of the Judges have been carefully specified. In no case, however, does the specification suggest a more pathetic image, than in the description of the funeral procession, in which the dead hero is borne by his brothers and his kinsmen, "up" the steep ascent to his native hills, and laid, as it would seem, beside the father who had watched with pride his early deeds, "between Zorah and Eshtaol, in the burial-place of Manoah his father."

His grave.

The arrangement of the narrative into its separate parts—the manner in which the humour, the strength, the headstrong rashness of Samson are worked up to the catastrophe—have not unnaturally suggested to the great Hebrew critic of our age the supposition that the story may even in early times have been wrought into a dramatic poem. But it is

[1] Judg. xv. 7; 2 Sam. xxiii. 14.

[2] The connection between the story and the place is indicated in the name "Lehi," or "Jawbone," Judg. xv. 9, 15, 16, 17, 19.

a remarkable proof of the latent force of the Biblical history, that a series of incidents and characters so peculiarly local, so abruptly and faintly depicted, should yet have furnished to our own poet the materials for a drama, which not only, as has been before observed, is the best likeness in modern form of the ancient classical tragedies, but is also, beyond any other of his works, interwoven with the modern experiences of his own eventful life.

Milton's use of the story.

Even in Milton's earlier days he seems to have dwelt with unusual pleasure on the grandeur and the fall of Samson, as the image of what he most admired and most cherished in the troubled world of English politics; as when he thinks that he "sees in his mind a noble and puissant nation "rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking "her [1]invincible locks;" or as when, in more elaborate style, he draws out the fine allegory, specially suitable to his own times, but, with slight modifications, applicable also to the general relations of rulers and [2]Churches:—"I cannot better "liken the state and person of a king than to that mighty "Nazarite, Samson; who, being disciplined from his birth in "the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, "grows up to a noble strength and perfection, with those his "illustrious and sunny locks, the Laws, waving and curling "about his godlike shoulders. And, while he keeps them "undiminished and unshorn, he may with the jawbone of an "ass, that is, with the word of his meanest officer, suppress "and put to confusion thousands of those that rise against "his just power. But laying down his head amongst the "strumpet flatteries of prelates, while he sleeps and thinks "no harm, they wickedly shaving off all those bright and "weighty tresses of his laws and just prerogatives, which "were his ornament and his strength, deliver him over to

[1] "Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing," i. 324.

[2] "Reasons of Church Government," i. 149.

"indirect and violent counsels, which, as those Philistines, "put out the fair and far-sighted eyes of his natural mind, "and make him grind in the prison-house of their sinister "ends, and practise upon him; till he, knowing this pre- "latical razor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish "again his puissant hair, the golden beams of law and right, "and they, sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads "of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction "to himself."

The Samson Agonistes.

The richness of the story becomes still more evident when we see the austere consolation which Milton derived from it in the sufferings of blindness, and poverty, and age, and the indignant sense of public and private wrong: —

"O loss of sight, of thee I most complain!
Blind among enemies, O worse than chains,
. . . . I, dark in light, exposed
To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong.

. . . .

O, dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,
Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse,
Without all hope of day!"

. . . .

"God of our fathers! what is man,
That thou towards him with hand so various,
Or, might I say, contrarious,
Temper'st thy Providence through his short course,
Not evenly, as thou rul'st
The angelic orders and inferior creatures mute,
Irrational and brute;
Nor do I name of men the common rout,
That wandering loose about
Grow up and perish, as the summer fly,
Heads without name, no more remembered;
But such as thou hast solemnly elected,

With gifts and graces eminently adorned,
To some great work, thy glory,
And people's safety, which in part they effect:
Yet toward those thus dignified, thou oft,
Amidst their height of noon,
Changest thy countenance, and thy hand . .
Nor only dost degrade them, or remit
To life obscured, which were a fair dismission,
But throw'st them lower than thou didst exalt them high.'

And we may well end this troubled period with that grand conclusion, with which, after

. . . "Samson hath quit himself
Like Samson, and heroically hath finished
A life heroic," . . . .

the Chorus consoles his sorrowing kindred: —

"All is best, though we oft doubt,
What the Unsearchable dispose
Of Highest Wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close.
Oft He seems to hide His face,
But unexpectedly returns,
And to His faithful champion hath in place
Bore witness gloriously; whence Gaza mourns,
And all that band them to resist
His uncontrollable intent;
His servants He, with new acquist
Of true experience from this great event,
With peace and consolation hath dismissed,
And calm of mind all passion spent."

LECTURE XVII.

THE FALL OF SHILOH.

To the crash of the Philistine Temple, and the silent burial of Samson, succeeds a blank in the sacred history, such as well serves to indicate its fragmentary character. When we again take up the thread, the existing condition of the nation gives us a backward glimpse into some of the unrecorded incidents of the lost [1]interval.

We find at the head of the nation a man, of whose rise nothing has been told: Eli, at once Judge and High Priest, already far advanced in years. This sudden apparition reveals, that, in the dark period preceding, there has been a change in the order of the Priesthood. Eli is not of the regular house of [2]Eleazar, the eldest son of Aaron, in which the succession ought to have continued. There has been a transfer to the house of the younger and comparatively obscure Ithamar, which had struck such deep root, that it continued, in spite of the agitations of the period, till its final overthrow in the reign of Solomon. The transfer had been made since the appearance of Phinehas, who is the last legitimate High Priest we can trace. The Rabbinical commentators allege that the change took place because of the share of Phinehas in the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter. Can this be possibly some faint reminiscence of a tradition

The change of the Priesthood.

[1] I have forborne to enlarge on the history of the obscurer Judges, Tola, Jair (Judg. x. 1–5), Elon, Abdon (*Ibid.* xii. 11–15), Bedan (1 Sam. xii. 11). Jair has been identified by Ewald (ii. 475) with Jael of Judg. v. 6, and with Jair, of Eastern Manasseh. Bedan has been variously connected with Barak, Abdon, and Samson.

[2] 1 Chron. vi. 4–15; xxiv. 4.

indicating the submersion of the house of Eleazar in the general disorder of the age, of which that dark event was undoubtedly a consequence? It appears, further, that the Philistines had been repulsed from the position which they had occupied in the time of [1]Samson. Was this effected through some heroic deed of Eli's youth? And did this raise him to the office of High Priest or of Judge? Such a supposition is rendered probable by the union of Warrior and Priest in Phinehas; and a like transference of the Pontificate from a like cause appears in the only other time of the history when it reaches to a like eminence,—when the Priestly house of the Maccabees became also the rulers of their countrymen.

Union of Judge and Priest.

In the union of Judge and Priest in Eli we have a gradual approximation to the consolidation of power in the monarchy. It was the only part of what is commonly called "the Theocratic period," in which the government was theocratic in the modern sense of the word — that of Priestly government, of ecclesiastical supremacy and independence such as has been occasionally advocated by the Christian Church. But this very peculiarity is not the culmination of the Mosaic period, so much as a temporary transition to the next stage of the second history, when the powers of Priest and Ruler were indeed united, not however in the person of the High [2]Priests, but of the Kings and Princes of Judah.

The reign of Eli, therefore, combines in a remarkable manner the fall of the old and the rise of the new order.

Shiloh.

Of all the portions of the sacred history this is the one which most clearly sets before us, in the light which precedes its final overthrow, the sanctuary of Shiloh. The ancient tent of Shiloh — memorial of the old nomadic state, containing the Ark, the relic of Mount Sinai — has been already

[1] 1 Sam. iv. 1.
[2] See (in Hebrew and LXX.) Kings vi. 14, 17, 18; 2 Sam. xx. 26; viii. 17, 18; Ps. cx. 1–11.

described. Tombs, which still remain in a rocky valley near the site of the ancient town, had been hewn in the steep sides of the hill. A city (as in the case of Micah's rival sanctuary, but here doubtless on a larger scale), had sprung up round [1] it. The sanctuary itself was so encased with buildings, as to give it the name and appearance of "a house" or [2] "temple." As in Micah's [3] sanctuary, there was a gateway, with a seat inside the doorposts or pillars which supported [4] it. It was "the seat," or "throne," of the ruler or judge (as afterwards in the Palace of Solomon). Here Eli sat on days of religious or political solemnity, and surveyed the worshippers as they came up the eminence on which the sanctuary was placed.

The worshippers.

To this consecrated spot pilgrims and worshippers were attracted, as to the religious centre of their country, at the yearly feast, the chief feast of the year — that of "The Bowers," or "Tabernacles," which co-existed with the Festival of the vintage. The sides of the valley in which Shiloh lay were clothed with vineyards, and in those vineyards the maidens of Shiloh came out to dance, and the whole population, of pilgrims and of the inhabitants, men and women alike, gave themselves up to the usual merriment of eating [5] and drinking.

Elkanah.

In this miscellaneous assemblage, were to be seen worshippers of the most various characters. One group of frequent occurrence, year by year, was that of Elkanah, from the neighbouring hills of Ephraim, with his numerous family. He is a rare instance of polygamy amongst the common ranks of the nation. It may have been one of the results of the disordered state of the times. It may have arisen (as

[1] 1 Sam. iv. 13.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 9; iii. 3.

[3] Judg. xviii. 16, 17. The word used in 1 Sam. i. 9 for "post" is the same as that in Ex. xii. 7; xxi. 6; Deut. vi. 9, for "doorpost." This is on the supposition that the words are used with intentional exactness. They may, however, have been (like the phrase in 1 Sam. iv. 4) transferred from the later Temple.

[4] 1 Sam. i. 9; iv. 13, 18.

[5] Judg. xxi. 19–21; 1 Sam. i. 9, 13, 14.

still in the Samaritan sect) from the barrenness of one of his two wives. His sacrifice on these occasions was looked forward to in his house as a grand feast in which every member of the family had a portion of the sacrificial offerings.

But it is on one individual of the house that our attention is specially fixed; his best beloved but childless wife, who bears the Phœnician [1] name which now first appears, "Hannah," or "Anna;" afterwards thrice [2] consecrated in the sacred story. She was herself almost a prophetess and [3] Nazarite. She is the first instance of silent prayer. Her song of thanksgiving is the first hymn, properly so-called,—the direct model of the first Christian hymn of "the Magnificat," the first outpouring of individual as distinct from national devotion, the first indication of the coming greatness of the anointed [4] king, whether in the divine or human sense. Hannah.

To this group is at last added the child, who though of no Priestly tribe, was consecrated to a more than Priestly [5] office, with the offerings of three bullocks, flour, and a skin of wine, and who from his earliest years ministered in the sacred vestments within the Tabernacle itself, the future inaugurator of the new period of the Church. Samuel.

Other pilgrims were there of a far other kind; and the eyes of others than the aged Eli were fixed upon them. Hophni and Phinehas, his two sons, are for students of ecclesiastical history, characters "of great and instructive wickedness." They are the true exemplars of the grasping and worldly clergy of all ages. It was the sacrificial feasts that gave occasion for their rapacity. It was the dances and [6] assemblies of the women in the vineyards, and before the sacred tent, that gave occasion for their debaucheries. They Hophni and Phinehas.

[1] "Anna," the mother of Dido.

[2] Anna, the wife of Tobit; (Tobit i. 9.) Anna, the daughter of Phanuel (Luke ii. 36); Anna, the wife of Joachim, the traditional mother of the Virgin.

[3] 1 Sam. i. 15; ii. 1.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 10. The first mention of the Messiah.

[5] 2 Chron. xiii. 9; 1 Sam. i. 24.

[6] Judg. xxi. 21; 1 Sam. ii. 22.

were the worst developement of the lawlessness of the age; penetrating, as in the case of the wandering Levite of the book of Judges, into the most sacred offices. But the coarseness of their vices does not make the moral less pointed for all times. The three-pronged fork which fishes up the seething flesh is the earliest type of grasping at pluralities and church-preferments by base means; the open profligacy at the door of the Tabernacle is the type of many a scandal brought on the Christian Church by the selfishness or sensuality of its ministers. An additional touch of nature is given by the close connection of these Priestly vices with the weak indulgence of Eli, and the blameless purity of Samuel. The judgement which falls on the house of Ithamar is the likeness of the judgement which has followed the corruption and the nepotism of the clergy everywhere. It was to begin with the alienation of the people from the worship of the sanctuary —it was to end in a violent revolution which should overthrow with bloodshed, confiscation, and long humiliation the ancient hereditary succession and the whole existing hierarchy of [1] Israel. "Men abhorred the offerings of the Lord." . . . "I said indeed that thy house and the house of thy father "should walk before me for ever. But now the Lord saith, "Be it far from me." "All the increase of thy house shall "die 'by the sword.'" "Everyone that is left in thine house "shall crouch to him for a piece of silver, and a morsel of "bread, and shall say, Put me, I pray thee, into one of the "priests' offices, that I may eat a piece of bread."

The judgement, of which the earliest indication comes from some unknown prophet, is first solemnly announced from an unexpected quarter, and in a form which shows that the thunders and lightnings, the oracular warnings, of the older period, are about to be superseded by "a still small voice" of a wholly different kind.

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 17, 29, 30, 33, 36 (LXX.).

The doom of the house of Ithamar.

It was night in the sanctuary. As afterwards in the great Temple, so now, the High Priest slept in one of the adjacent chambers, and the attendant ministers in another. In the centre, on the left of the entrance, stood the seven-branched [1] candlestick, now mentioned for the last time; superseded in the reign of Solomon, by the ten separate candlesticks, but revived after the Captivity by the copy of the one candlestick with seven branches, as it is still seen on the Arch of Titus. It was the only light of the Tabernacle during the night, was solemnly lighted every evening, as in the devotions of the Eastern world, both Mussulmân and Christian, and extinguished just before morning, when the doors were [2] opened.

In the deep silence of that early morning, before the sun had risen, when the sacred light was still burning, came, through the mouth of the innocent child, the doom of the house of Ithamar.

The battle of Aphek.

The first blow in the impending tragedy came from the now constant enemy of Israel. The Philistines revived their broken strength. The conflict took place at a spot near the western entrance of the Pass of Beth-horon, known by the name of Aphek, but in later times — from the memory of a victory which effaced the recollection of this dark day, — [3] "Eben-Ezer." A reverse roused the alarm of the Israelite chiefs. In that age, as in the Mediæval period of the Christian Church, to which we have so often compared it, the ready expedient was to turn the sacred relics of religion into an engine of war. The Philistines themselves were in the habit of bringing the images of their gods to the field of [4] battle. To these must be opposed the symbol of the Divine Presence in Israel, the Ark of the Covenant. Such an application of the Ark was not without example before or after; but it is

[1] Ex. xxv. 31; xxxvii. 17, 18; Lev. xxiv. 3; 2 Chron. xiii. 11.

[2] 1 Sam. iii. 15; 1 Chron. ix. 27.

[3] See Lecture XVIII.

[4] 2 Sam. v. 21.

evidently described as against the higher spirit of the religion which it was intended to support. Hophni and Phinehas were with it as representatives of the Priestly order. To the profligate vices of their youth they joined the sin of superstition also. Their appearance with the Ark roused as with a spasmodic effort the sinking spirit of the army. The well-known cheer of the Israelites — terrible to their enemies at all times — ran through the camp so that "the earth [1]rang again," and the Philistines were roused to the last pitch of desperate courage in resisting, as they thought, this new and Divine enemy.

On that day the fate of the house of Eli was to be determined. It was the crisis of the nation. It was, as the Philistines expressed it, to decide whether the Philistines were to be the slaves of the Hebrews, or the Hebrews of the Philistines. On the success of this wager of battle, the Priestly rulers of the nation had staked the most sacred pledge of their religion. The whole city and sanctuary of Shiloh waited for the result in breathless expectation. Two above all others, Eli and the wife of Phinehas, were wrapt in dreadful expectation — he blind and feeble with age—she near to the delivery of her second child. In the evening of the same day there rushed through the vale of Shiloh a youth from the camp, one of the active tribe of Benjamin, — his clothes torn asunder, and his hair sprinkled with dust, as the two Oriental signs of grief and [2]dismay. A loud wail, like that which on the announcement of any great calamity, runs through all Eastern towns, rang through the streets of the expectant city. The aged High Priest was sitting in his usual place beside the gateway of the sanctuary. He caught the cry; he asked the tidings. He heard the defeat of the army; he heard the death of his two sons; he heard the capture of the Ark of God. It was this last tidings, "when mention was made of the Ark of

The tidings of the defeat.

[1] 1 Sam. iv. 5. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 12.

God," that broke the old man's heart. He fell from his seat, and died in the fall. The death of Eli.

The news spread and reached the home of Phinehas. The pangs of labour overtook the widow of the fallen Priest. Not even the birth of a living son could rouse her. "Their "[1] Priests," as the Psalmist long afterwards expressed it, "had fallen, and their widows made no lamentation." With her as with her father-in-law, her whole soul was absorbed in one thought, and with her last breath she gave to the child a name which should be a memorial of that awful hour,—"I-chabod," "The glory is departed; for the Ark of God "is taken." The birth of Ichabod.

"The Ark of God was taken." These words expressed the whole significance of the calamity. It was known, till the era of the next great, and still greater overthrow of the nation, at the Babylonian exile, as "the Captivity." "The day of the *captivity*" was the epoch which closed the irregular worship of the sanctuary at [2] Dan. "He delivered his strength into *captivity*, and [3] his glory," (that "glory" of the Divine Presence, which was commemorated in the name of I-chabod) "into the enemy's hand." The Septuagint title of the 96th Psalm, "when the house of God was built after the *captivity*;" and the allusion in the [4] 68th Psalm, "Thou hast led *captivity* captive," most probably refer to the period of these disasters. The Captivity of the Ark.

The grief of Israel may be measured by the triumph, not unmingled with awe, of the Philistines. It was to them as if they had captured Jehovah Himself; and a custom long continued in the sanctuary of Dagon in their chief city of Ashdod, to commemorate the tradition of the terror which this new Presence had excited. The priests and the wor-

[1] 1 Sam. iv. 19, 20; Ps. lxxviii. 64.

[2] Judg. xviii. 30.

[3] Ps. lxxviii. 61. The word, however, is different.

[4] Ps. lxviii. 18.

shippers of Dagon would never step on the [1]threshold, where the human face and human hands of the Fish God had been found broken off from the body of the statue as it lay prostrate before the superior Deity.

The Return of the Ark.

The elaborate description, too, of the joy of the return marks the deep sense of the loss. In the border land of the two territories, in the [2]vast corn-fields, under the hills of Dan, the villagers of Beth-shemesh at their harvest, see the procession winding through the plain, the Philistine princes moving behind, the cart conveying the sacred relic, drawn by the two cows, lowing as they advance towards the group of expectant Israelites, who "lifted up their eyes and saw the ark, and rejoiced to see it." The [3]great stone on which the cart and the cows were sacrificed, was long pointed out as a monument of the event. But even the restoration of the Ark was clouded with calamities; and when from Beth-shemesh it mounted upwards through the hills to Kirjath-jearim, and was lodged there in a little sanctuary, with a self-consecrated Priest of its own, there was still a longing sense of vacancy: whilst it remained "in the [4]fields of "the wood," there was "no sleep to the eyes or slumber "to the eyelids" of the devout Israelite. "It came to pass "while the ark was at Kirjath-jearim, that the time was "long; for it was twenty years; and all the house of "Israel lamented after the [5]LORD."

It was the first pledge of returning hope; but the hope was still long deferred; and meanwhile the catastrophe was branded into the national mind by the overthrow of the sanctuary itself of Shiloh, in which the Ark had since the conquest found its chief home. We catch a distant

Overthrow of Shiloh.

[1] 1 Sam. v. 5. According to the LXX. "they leaped over it."

[2] Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 225-9.

[3] 1 Sam. vi. 18. For the numbers of Beth-shemesh, see Kennicott's *Observations on* 1 *Sam.* vi. 19. He reduces them from 50,070 to 70.

[4] Ps. cxxxii. 5, 6. (*jearim* = woods).

[5] 1 Sam. vii. 2.

glimpse of massacre with fire, and sword; of a city sacked and plundered by ruthless invaders. "He gave his people "over to the sword; and was wroth with his inheritance. "The fire [1]consumed their young men, their maidens were "not given to marriage." The details of the overthrow are not given; partly perhaps because the sanctuary gradually decayed when the glory of the Ark was departed; partly from the imperfect state of the narrative, which may itself have been caused by the silent horror of the event. Shiloh is casually mentioned [2]twice or thrice in the later history. But the reverence had ceased. The Tabernacle, under which the Ark had rested, was carried off, first to Nob, and then to Gibeon, with the [3]original brazen altar of the wilderness. The place became desolate, and has remained so ever since. "Thou shalt see thine enemy in my habitation." The name became a proverb for destruction and desolation. "I will do to this house as I have done to Shiloh." "Go "now unto my place which was at Shiloh; . . . and see what "I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel." "I "will make this house like Shiloh . . . a curse to all the "nations of the [4]earth." The very locality became so little known that it had to be specified carefully in the following centuries in order to be recognized. "Shiloh, *which is in* "*the land of Canaan*," "which is on the *north side of* "*Bethel*, on the *east side* of the *highway that goeth* up "from Beth-el to Shechem, and on the *south of* [5]Lebo-"nah." It is only this exact description, thus required by the very extremity of its destruction, which enabled a tra-

[1] Ps. lxxviii. 62, 63. May not this be taken literally of the Philistines burning their Israelite prisoners alive? That this was a Philistine custom appears from Judg. xv. 6.

[2] Ahijah the Shilonite (1 Kings xi. 29). Pilgrims "from Shiloh" (Jer. xli. 5). Possibly "Ahijah . . . priest in Shiloh" (1 Sam. xiv. 3, LXX.).

[3] 1 Sam. xxi. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 1; 2 Chron. i. 5; v. 5.

[4] Jer. vii. 12, 14; xxvi. 6.

[5] Judg. xxi. 12, 19. See Ewald, ii. 423.

veller from [1] America, within our own memory, to rediscover its site, to which the sacred name still clung with a touching tenacity forgotten for centuries, and known only to the savage peasants who prowl about its few broken ruins.

So ended the period, defined as that during which "the [2] house of God was in Shiloh." So ended the period of the supremacy of the tribe of Ephraim, whose fall is described, in the Psalm which unfolds their fortunes, as involved in the fall of Shiloh — "He forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh, the "tent that He had pitched among men. He refused the "tabernacle of [3] Joseph, and chose not the tribe of "Ephraim." So ended the still wider period of the first division of the history of the Chosen People, in the overthrow of the first sanctuary by the Philistines, as the second division and overthrow was to terminate in the fall of the second sanctuary, the Temple of the Jewish monarchy, by the armies of Babylon; and the third in the still vaster destruction of the last Temple of Jerusalem by the armies of Titus. The revival of the nation from the ruins of the first sanctuary must be reserved for the rise of the Second Period of the Jewish Church, when "the Lord was to "awake as one out of [4] sleep .... and choose the tribe "of Judah, the Mount Zion which He loved." Only we may still include within this epoch the great name of Samuel, and the great office of Prophet, which was to unite the old and the new together, under the shelter of which was to spring up the new institutions of the monarchy — a new tribe, a new capital, a new Church, with new forms of communion with the Almighty, now for the first time named by the name of "the LORD of Hosts."

[1] *Seilûn* was first rediscovered by Dr. Robinson in 1838.

[2] Judg. xviii. 31.

[3] Ps. lxxviii. 60, 67.

[4] *Ibid.* 65, 68.

SAMUEL AND THE PROPHETICAL OFFICE.

XVIII. SAMUEL.

XIX. THE HISTORY OF THE PROPHETICAL ORDER.

XX. THE NATURE OF THE PROPHETICAL TEACHING.

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE LIFE OF SAMUEL.

1. 1 Sam. i.–xxviii. (Hebrew and LXX.); 1 Chron. xxix. 29; Ps. xcix. 6; Jer. xv. 1; Ecclus. xlvi. 13-20; Acts iii. 24, xiii. 20; Heb. xi. 32.
2. Jewish traditions (Jos. *Ant.* v. 10–vi. 14); Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.*, 895–903.
3. Mussulman traditions (D'Herbelot, under *Aschmouyl;* and Weil's *Biblical Legends*, 144–151.
4. Christian traditions (*Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. 20).

SAMUEL AND THE PROPHETICAL OFFICE.

LECTURE XVIII.

SAMUEL.

THE fall of the sanctuary of Shiloh was the termination of the first period of Jewish history which had lasted from Moses to Eli. It had been a period varied and shifting in detail, but with this common feature — that it was a time of wandering and of strife, of danger and of deliverance, of continual and direct dependence on the help of God alone, with no regular means of government, or law, or army, or king, to ward off the enemies that were constantly assailing them from without, or to repress the disorders that were constantly disturbing them from within. The Judges themselves were regarded as invested with something of a divine or God-like character; the more so perhaps from their solitary and strange elevation above all around them. A new selection of Judges is described as "a choosing of [1] new Gods;" and the two last of the series are especially dignified with the name of [2] "God." This period, called on these accounts by [3] Josephus "the Theocracy" or "Aristocracy," was now at an end. The wanderings were at last over, and the battle was at last won. The desire of the people was stimulated by

Close of the Theocracy.

[1] Judg. v. 8.

[2] Eli, in 1 Sam. ii. 25—The Judge (Heb. "the God," *Elohim*) shall judge him. Samuel, in 1 Sam. xxviii. 13, "I saw gods (*Elohim*)." Compare Ps. lxxxii. 1, 2, 6.

[3] Jos. *Ant.* vi. 3, § 2, 3.

its nearer insight into the customs of the surrounding nations to have a ruler like to them; the coming change had already, as we saw in the times of the Judges, made itself felt by the gradual approximation to such an institution in the lives of Jair and Abdon, Gideon and Abimelech, Eli and Samuel. All these indications were at last to receive their full accomplishment in the inauguration of a fixed, hereditary, regal government, in the person of the first king — "Behold the king whom ye have chosen, and whom ye have "desired. Behold, the Lord hath set a king over you." Now, therefore, was to begin that second period, that new and untried future, which was to last for another five hundred years — the period of the Monarchy. Was it possible that an institution which had begun in wilfulness and distrust would ripen into a just and holy law? would the establishment of armies, and officers of state, and king succeeding king, as a matter of course, without any sudden call or mission — would the growth of poetry, and architecture, and music, and all the other arts which spring up under an established rule — would the secure dwelling of every man under his own vine and fig-tree — would these and many like changes destroy or confirm, diminish or expand, the faith which had hitherto been the safety of the Chosen People? Would the true Theocracy, the government of God, be weakened or strengthened, now that in name it was withdrawn? Was this great stride in earthly civilization inconsistent with the preservation of the ancient primeval religion of Abraham, and Moses, and Joshua?

Beginning of the Monarchy.

Transition.

Such were the questions which actually would arise in the mind of any thoughtful Israelite at this crisis. They are questions which, in some form or other, arise at every like crisis in the progress of the Church. It must be reserved for the discussion of the history of the Monarchy to point out how these natural fears were in part justified, but yet on the

whole rendered futile, by the actual results of the change. In the Kings of Israel and Judah we shall see the first exhibition of that union of regal and priestly excellence, which was to be completed in a yet diviner sense, only in the final stage of the sacred history. We shall trace in the victories of the hosts of Israel the first complete establishment of the new and great name of God — "The Lord of Hosts," "Jehovah Sabaoth." In the Psalms of David, in the Temple of Solomon, and in the Prophecies of Isaiah, we shall recognize a fuller communion with God, even than on the holy mountain of Sinai, or in the speaking face to face with Moses as with a friend.

But those blessings were still in the distance. We are yet on the threshold. It will, however, be useful here to describe the influences first of the individual and then of the office, which were raised up to guide the Jewish Church (and, by example, the Christian Church) through this or any like transitions.

In this crisis of the Chosen People, second only in importance to the Exodus, there appeared a leader, second only to Moses. Amidst the wreck of the ancient institutions of the country, amidst the rise and growth of the new, there was one counsellor to whom all turned for advice and support — one heart to which "the Lord" especially "revealed Himself." The life and character of [1] SAMUEL covers the whole of this period of perplexity and doubt. The two books which give an account of the first establishment of the Monarchy are called by his name, as fitly as the books which give an account of the establishment of the Theocracy are called by the name of Moses. At this close of the first period of the

Rise of Samuel.

[1] This name has been variously explained. The sacred narrative seems to waver between "asked of God" (1 Sam. i. 17) and "heard of God" (1 Sam. vii. 9). Josephus (*Ant.* v. 10, § 3) ingeniously translates it by the well known Greek name of "Theætetus."

Jewish history, and on the eve of the second period, it will be necessary to draw forth those points in his character and appearance which specially fitted him for this position. As in the case of all the earlier characters of the Jewish Church, we must be content with an uncertainty and dimness of perception; we must not expect to form a complete portraiture of either the man or his history. But the general effect of the whole career is sufficiently clear, and on that alone I propose to dwell.

His connection with the past.

I. First, then, observe precisely what his position was, and how he filled it. He was not a Founder of a new state of things like Moses, nor a champion of the existing order of things like Elijah or Jeremiah. He stood, literally, between the two — between the living and the dead, between the past and the future, between the old and the new, with that sympathy for each which, at such a period, is the best hope for any permanent solution of the questions which torment it. He had been brought up and nurtured in the ancient system. His childhood had been spent in the Sacred Tent of Shiloh, the last relic of the Wanderings in the Desert. His early dedication to the sanctuary belonged to that age of vows, of which we saw the excess in the rash and hasty vows of Jephthah, of Saul, and of the assembly at Mizpeh; in the more regular, but still peculiar and eccentric devotion of Samson to the life of a Nazarite. As he grew up, devoted by his mother, herself almost a [1] Nazarite, secluded from the world in his linen ephod, his long locks flowing over his shoulders, on which no [2] razor was ever to pass, perhaps we may add, abstaining from all wine and [3] strong drink, he must have presented a likeness, civilized and tamed indeed, but still a likeness, of the wild Danite champion who rent the lion, and smote the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass — he

[1] See Lecture XVII.
[2] 1 Sam. i. 11.
[3] LXX.; *ibid.*

must have been a living memorial of past times, far into a new generation which knew such things no more.

The last of the Judges.

He was also a Judge, of the ancient generation, the last of the Judges, the last of that long succession who had been raised up from Othniel downwards to effect special deliverances. In the overthrow of the sanctuary of Shiloh, and the disasters which followed, we hear not what became of [1] Samuel. He next appears, after an interval of many years, suddenly amongst the people, warning them against their idolatrous practices. He convened an assembly at Mizpeh — probably the place of that name in the tribe of Benjamin — and there with a symbolical rite, expressive partly of deep humiliation, partly of the libations of a treaty, they poured water on the ground, they fasted, and they entreated Samuel to raise the piercing shrill cry, for which his prayers were known, in supplication to God for them. It was at the moment that he was offering up a [2] sacrifice, and sustaining this loud cry, that the Philistine host suddenly burst upon them. A violent thunderstorm, and (according to [3] Josephus) an earthquake, came to the timely assistance of Israel. The Philistines fled, and, exactly at the spot where twenty years before they had obtained their great victory, they were totally routed. A huge stone was set up, which long remained as a memorial of Samuel's triumph, and gave to the place its name of Eben-ezer, "the Stone of Help," which has thence passed into Christian phraseology, and become a common name of Puritan saints and Nonconformist [4] chapels. The old Canaanites, whom the Philistines had dispossessed in the outskirts of the Judæan

The battle of Eben-ezer.

[1] According to the Mussulman tradition, Samuel's birth is granted in answer to the prayers of the nation on the overthrow of the sanctuary and loss of the ark (D'Herbelot, *Aschmouyl*). This, though false in the letter, is true to the spirit of Samuel's life.

[2] Compare the situation of Pausanias before the battle of Platæa, Herod. ix. 11.

[3] *Ant.* vi. 2, § 2.

[4] 1 Sam. vii. 12.

hills, seem to have helped in the battle, and "there was "peace between Israel and the [1] Amorites." A large portion of lost territory in the plain of Philistia was recovered. The battle of Eben-ezer — the first, and, as far as we know, the only direct military achievement of Samuel — marked as it was by the first return of victory to the arms of Israel after the fall of Shiloh, was apparently the event which raised him to the office of "Judge." There, in the same way as "Jerubbaal, and Bedan, and [2] Jephthah," with whom he is thus classed, he won his title to that name, then the highest in the nation. He dwelt in his own birthplace, and, like Gideon, or like Micah, made it a sanctuary of his own. There was still no central capital. Shiloh was gone, Shechem was gone, and Jerusalem was not yet come. All was as of old, yet uncertain and unfixed. The personal, family, bond was stronger than the national. He went from year to year, indeed, in solemn circuit to the ancient [3] sanctuaries within his own immediate neighbourhood — "Bethel, and Gilgal, and "Mizpeh" — and "judged Israel in all those places." But "his return" was always to *Ramah;* "for there was his house, "and there he judged Israel, and there he built an altar unto "the Lord." As yet "there was no king in Israel — he did "what was right in his own eyes." His sons, as in the case of those of Jair and Abdon, shared the power with him, though at the remote southern sanctuary of [4] Beersheba; and in their corrupt practices he lived to see a repetition of the scandals of Hophni and Phinehas. He was, as it might have seemed, but as one of the old chiefs of the bygone age — half warrior, half sage. Like the Levite who dwelt in the sanctuary of Micah, but on a grander scale, he was consulted

[1] 1 Sam. vii. 14; comp. Judg. i. 34, 35.

[2] *Ibid.* xii. 11.

[3] *Ibid.* vii. 16. ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις τούτοις, LXX.

[4] 1 Sam. viii. 1–4. This is a remarkable instance of the fairness of the narrative.

[1]throughout the neighbourhood as an oracle for any of the vexations or difficulties of common life. In him we see the last example of the custom which was "beforetime in Israel when men went to inquire of [2]God" about these matters. An ass would have gone astray on the mountains, or an expedition in search of a settlement would need to be blessed, and the inquirers would come with the ever-recurring present (*bakhshîsh*) of the Oriental supplicant — loaves of bread, or the fourth [3] part of a shekel of silver, or the offer of a good [4] place in the new settlement. His oracular fame.

An awful reverence for the ancient times thus grew up around him. His long-protracted life was like the shadow of the great rock of an older epoch projected into the level of a modern age. "He judged Israel all his life:" even after the Monarchy had sprung up, he was still a witness of an earlier and more primitive state. Whatever murmurs or complaints had arisen, were always hushed for the moment before his presence. They leaned upon him, they looked back to him even from after ages, as their fathers had leaned upon Moses. A peculiar virtue was believed to reside in his intercession. In later times he was conspicuous amongst those that "*call* upon the name of the [5]Lord," and was thus placed with Moses as "standing" (in the special sense of the attitude [6] for prayer) "before the Lord." It was the last consolation that he left in his parting address, that he would "*pray* to the [7]Lord" for the people. With the wild scream or shriek of supplication which has been already noticed on the eve of his first battle, he would "*cry*," in agitated moments, "all night long unto the Lord," and thus seem to draw down, as if by force, the Divine answer. "Cease not to *cry* to the Lord for us." "And Samuel *cried* unto the Lord . . . and" His prayer of intercession.

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 6.
[2] *Ibid.* ix. 9.
[3] *Ibid.* ix. 7, 8.
[4] Judg. xviii. 19.
[5] Ps. xcix. 6; comp. 2 Sam. xii. 16.
[6] Jer. xv. 1.
[7] 1 Sam. xii. 17, 23.

(as if with a special reference to the meaning of his name, "asked" or "heard" of God) "the Lord [1] heard him." No festive or solemn occasion was complete without his presence. "The [2] people will not eat until he come, because he doth "bless the sacrifice; and afterwards they eat that be bidden." His coming was a signal for mingled fear and joy. The elders of Bethlehem "trembled at his coming, and said, "'Comest thou peaceably?' And he said, 'Peaceably: I "'am come to sacrifice unto the Lord. Sanctify yourselves, "'and [3] come with me to the sacrifice.'"

When we read of that apparition, in which he was evoked after death, as he had been known in life, there was something terrific, yet venerable, in his aspect; "I see a [4] god ascending out of the earth." His long Nazarite [5] hair, now white with age, marked him from a distance to be the old grey-headed seer. The little [6] mantle which his mother gave him, reaching down to his feet, had from his earliest years marked him out as an almost royal personage; and the same peculiar robe, in extended proportions, wrapped round him, was his badge to the end. On its skirt Saul had laid hold when he had last parted from Samuel at Gilgal. By its folds, he recognized him in the vision at Endor.

His outward appearance.

II. Such was Samuel, as the last representative of the ancient mediæval Church of Judaism. But there was another relation inseparably blended with this, in which he must be regarded as the first representative of the new epoch which was now dawning on his country. He is explicitly described as "Samuel the Prophet." "All the prophets from *Samuel* "*and those that follow after.*" "He gave them [7] judges until "*Samuel the Prophet.*" We have already seen the lower

The first of the Order of Prophets.

[1] 1 Sam. xv. 11; vii 8, 9.
[2] *Ibid.* ix. 13.
[3] *Ibid.* xvi. 4, 5.
[4] *Ibid.* xxviii. 13.
[5] *Ibid.* xii. 2.
[6] The Hebrew word *me-il*, persistently used throughout for Samuel's dress, 1 Sam. ii. 19; xv. 27; xxviii. 14. See "Mantle" in *Dict. of Bible.*
[7] Acts iii. 24; xiii. 20.

and more limited sense, in which he might be so called, as the oracle of his neighbourhood or of his country in the various difficulties, great or small, which drove them to consult him. We are even enabled to observe the special means by which he received the revelations which thus first gained for him the reverence of his countrymen. "By dreams, by Urim, and by prophets," we [1] are told were the three especial channels by which in those days "the Lord answered" to those that inquired of Him. By the first of these, we can hardly doubt, it is intended to be intimated that Samuel received and delivered his early warnings. "The word [2] of the Lord was precious in those days — there "was no open vision." It was in the stillness of the night, just before the early dawn, that Samuel first heard the Divine Voice. That voice and those visions still continued. Revelation. "The Lord *revealed* himself to [3] Samuel." It is, with perhaps one exception, the earliest instance of the use of the word which has since become the name for all Divine communication. "The Lord *uncovered the ear*," — such is the literal expression; a touching and significant figure, taken from the manner in which the possessor of a secret moves back the long hair of his friend, and whispers into the ear thus laid bare the word that no one else may hear. It is a figure which precisely expresses the most universal and philosophical idea conveyed by the term "*Revelation*," thence appropriated in the theological language both of East and West. "The Father of Truth" (says an eminent scholar, indicating his own use of this phrase to describe the mission of the Semitic races) "chooses His own prophets, and "He speaks to them in a voice stronger than the voice of "thunder. It is the same inner voice through which God "speaks to all of us. That voice may dwindle away, and "become hardly audible; it may lose its divine accent and

[1] 1 Sam. xxviii. 6. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 1. [3] *Ibid.* iii. 21.

"sink into the language of worldly prudence; but it may also "from time to time assume its real nature with the chosen "of God, and sound into their ears as a voice from Heaven. "A 'divine instinct' would neither be an appropriate name "for what is a gift or grace accorded but to few, nor would "it be a more intelligible word than 'special [1] Revelation.'"

"Samuel the Seer."

Through these revelations, the child first and then the man, became "Samuel the Seer." By that ancient name, older than any other designation of the Prophetic office, he was known in his own as in after times. "I am the *Seer*," was his answer to those who asked, "Is the *Seer* [2] here? "Where is the *Seer's* house?" "Samuel the *Seer*" is the name by which he is known in the books of Chronicles, as the counsellor of Saul and [3] David. And, as if in a distorted reminiscence of his peculiar gift of second sight, — of insight into the secrets of Heaven and of the future,— Samuel is the character selected in Mussulman traditions as the first revealer of the mysteries of the nocturnal flight of Mahomet from Mecca to [4] Jerusalem. But it was in a much higher and more important sense than as a mere "seer" of visions, that Samuel appears as preeminently "The Prophet." The passages already quoted from the New Testament indicate to us, and Augustine in his [5] "De Civitate Dei," has well caught the idea, that he is the beginning of that Prophetical dispensation, which ran parallel with the Monarchy from the first to the last king, and together with it forms the essential characteristic of the whole of the coming period. "Hoc "itaque tempus, ex quo Sanctus Samuel prophetare cœpit, "et deinceps donec populus Israel in Babyloniam captivus "duceretur . . . . totum est tempus [6] Prophetarum."

[1] Quoted from the same Essay of Professor Müller already cited in Lecture I. p. 16.

[2] 1 Sam. ix. 11, 18, 19.

[3] 1 Chron. ix. 22; xxvi. 28.

[4] Weil's Legends, 145.

[5] *Civ. Dei*, xvii. 1.

[6] See Lecture XIX.

It was from Samuel's time that the succession was never broken. Even the Mussulman legends delight to make him the herald of all the Prophets, down to the last, that were to come after him.

In many ways does this origination of the line of Prophets centre in Samuel. We may trace back to him the institution even in its outward form and fashion. In his time we first hear of what in modern phraseology are called the Schools of the Prophets. Whatever be the precise meaning of the peculiar word, which now came first into use as the designation of these companies, it is evident that their immediate mission consisted in uttering religious hymns or songs, accompanied by musical instruments — psaltery, tabret, pipe and harp, and [1]cymbals. In them, as in the few solitary instances of their predecessors, the characteristic element was that the silent seer of visions found an articulate voice, gushing forth in a rhythmical flow, which at once [2]riveted the attention of the hearer. These, or such as these, were the gifts which under Samuel were now organized, if one may so say, into a system. The spots where they were chiefly gathered, even in latter times, were more or less connected with their founder; Bethel and Gilgal. But the chief place where they appear in his own lifetime is his own birthplace and residence, Ramah, Ramathaim-zophim, "the height," "the double height of the watchmen." From this or from some neighbouring height they might be seen descending, in a long line or [3]chain, which gave its name to their company, with "psaltery, harp, tabret, pipe, and cymbals." Or by the dwellings, the leafy huts as they were in later times, on the hill side — "Naioth in Ramah" — they were settled in a [4]congregation (such is the word in the original), a

The Schools of the Prophets.

[1] 1 Sam. x. 5; 1 Chron. xxv. 1–8.
[2] See Lecture XIX.
[3] The word used is *Chebel*, "rope," "string" (LXX. χόρος); 1 Sam. x. 5, 10.
[4] LXX. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, 1 Sam. xix. 20.

church as it were within a church, and "*Samuel stood* [1] *appointed* over them." Under the shadow of his name they dwelt as within a charmed circle. From them went forth an influence which awed and inspired even the wild and reckless soldiers of that lawless [2] age. Amongst them we find the first authors distinctly named, in Hebrew literature, of actual books which descended [3] to later generations, and gathered up the recollections of their own or of former times. Song, and music, and dance were interwoven in some sacred union, difficult for us to conceive in these western or northern regions, yet not without illustrations even at the present day from the religious observances of Spain and of Arabia. But, unlike the dances of Seville and Cairo, the mystical songs and ecstasies of these Prophetic Schools were trained to ends much nobler than any mere ceremonial observance. Thither in that age of change and dissolution Samuel gathered round him all that was generous and devout in the people of God. David, the shepherd warrior and wandering outlaw—Saul, the wild and wayward king—Heman, the grandson of [4] Samuel himself, chief singer, afterwards, in David's court, and known especially as the king's seer—Gad, the devoted companion of David in his exile—Nathan, his stern reprover in after times, and the wise counsellor of David's wise son—all, however different their characters and stations, seem to have found a home within those sacred haunts, all caught the same divine inspiration; all were, for the time at least, drawn together by that invigorating and elevating atmosphere.

[1] Ἐιστήκει καθεστηκὼς; 1 Sam. xix. 20.

[2] 1 Sam. xix. 20, 21.

[3] The Psalms of David, and the biographies written by Samuel, Gad, and Nathan. (1 Chron. xxix. 29.) Various books of the Old Testament have been ascribed to Samuel—the Judges, Ruth, the Pentateuch, and even the two books which bear his name. But of the authorship of these writings there is no express mention, and therefore no decisive proof, however much he may, with probability, be supposed to have contributed towards the composition of some of them.

[4] Son of Joel, 1 Chron. vi. 33; xv. 17; xxv. 5.

I may be forgiven, if for a moment before dwelling in detail on what belongs to the special age and country, I call attention to the fact that this is the first direct mention, the first express sanction, not merely of regular arts of instruction and education, but of regular societies formed for that purpose—of schools, of colleges, of universities. Long before Plato had gathered his disciples round him in the olive grove, or Zeno in the Portico, these institutions had sprung up under Samuel in Judæa.

It is always interesting in ecclesiastical history to indicate the successive moments at which the successive ideas and institutions, afterwards to be developed, first came into existence. And here, in Oxford, it is impossible not to note with peculiar interest the rise of these, as they may be truly called, the first places of regular religious education. They present to us, even in detail, the same fixedness of local continuity, which so remarkably distinguishes our schools and universities from the shifting philosophical societies of Greece; at Bethel and at Gilgal, if not at Ramah, the schools of the Prophets are found in the time of Elijah where they were in the time of Samuel, even as our own university, and our own colleges, still flourish on the ground chosen ages ago by Alfred and by Walter de Merton. They present to us, also, so far as we know anything of their constitution, something of the same large influence, so often observed amongst ourselves; the effect exercised rather by the general atmosphere and society of the place, than by its special instructions. Of the [1] information imparted by Samuel, or by the fathers of the school of the Prophets, we know hardly anything. We see only that there was a contagion of goodness, of enthusiasm, of energy, which even those who came with hostile or indifferent minds, such as Saul and the

[1] See Lecture XIX.

messengers of Saul, found it almost impossible to resist; they, too, were rapt into the vortex of inspiration, and the bystanders exclaimed with astonishment "Is Saul also among the prophets?" How like to the spell exercised by the local genius of our English Universities, insensibly, unaccountably exercised over many, who would not be able to say how or whence they had gained it; how like to the influences passing to and fro amongst us, for good or evil, from the example, the characters, the spirit of our companions; far more potent than lectures, or precepts, or sermons. "I have learned "much from my Masters, more from my companions, "most of all from my [1] scholars." And, further, if this be so, the peculiar circumstances of the rise of the Prophetic Schools of Israel may well point out to us one special object, at least, of all such seats of education everywhere. To mediate between the old and the new; to maintain a current of independent thought and feeling amidst the pressure of lower influences; to distinguish between that which is temporal and that which is eternal — this is the mission of institutions like ours; this was the mission of Samuel, and of the schools of which he was the Founder.

The Prophetic mission of Samuel.

Let us take these points in their order.

His mediation between the old and the new.

1. To mediate between the old and the new.—This, as I have before intimated, was indeed the peculiar position of Samuel. He was at once the last of the Judges and the inaugurator of the first of the Kings. Take the whole of the narrative together; take the story first of his opposition, and then of his acquiescence, in the establishment of the monarchy. Both together bring us to a just impression of the double aspect in which he appears; of the two-sided sympathy which enabled him to unite together the passing and the coming epoch. The misdemeanors of his own sons—the first ap-

[1] Sayings of a Rabbi quoted in Cowley's *Davideis*, Notes, p. 40.

pearance in them of the grasping avaricious [1] character which in later ages has thrown so black a shadow over the Jewish character—precipitated the catastrophe which had been long preparing. The people demanded a king. [2] Josephus describes the shock to Samuel's mind, "because of his inborn sense of "justice, because of his hatred of kings, as so far inferior to "the aristocratic rule, which conferred a godlike character "on those who lived under it." For the whole night he lay, we are told, fasting and sleepless, in the depths of doubt and perplexity. In the [3] visions of that night, and the announcement of them on the following day, is given the dark side of the new institution. On the other hand, his acceptance of the change is no less clearly marked in the story of his reception of Saul. In the first meeting no word is breathed to break the impression that God [4] is with the new Ruler, and, in his final coronation as king, there is no check to the joy with which the whole nation, and, according to the Septuagint, Samuel [5] himself, "rejoiced greatly." In the final address is represented the mixed feeling with which, after having forewarned, and struggled, and resisted, he at last bows to the inevitable course of events, and retires gradually to make room for a new order, of which he could but partially understand the meaning. He parted from the people, not with curses, but with blessings: "God forbid "that I should sin against the Lord by ceasing to pray for "you; but I will teach you the good and the right way." He parted from Saul, not in anger, but in sorrow. "Never-"theless Samuel mourned for Saul." [6] He who had begun by denouncing the Monarchy as fraught with evil, ended by becoming the protector and counsellor of him who was to be

[1] Their crimes were bribery and *exorbitant usury*, 1 Sam. viii. 4 (LXX.).
[2] *Ant.* vi. 3, § 3.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] 1 Sam. x. 7.
[5] 1 Sam. xi. 15.
[6] *Ibid.* xii. 23; xv. 35.

its chief glory and support. Out of the dark period in which his early years had been spent, arose through his interposition a higher and a nobler life. To Saul succeeded David and Solomon; and in their reigns was seen a fulfilment of God's kingdom such as could not be understood by those to whom there was no king in Israel, who did what was right in their own eyes; to whom the Psalms were as yet unknown; to whom Prophecy came only by imperfect and distant glimpses; to whom the highest type of the Messiah's reign in the person of David and his son was a thing inconceivable.

Such an epoch of perplexity, of transition, of change, as that which witnessed the passage from the first age of the Jewish Church to the second, has been rarely experienced in any age of the Church since. Yet there have been times more or less similar; the passage from every generation to the one that succeeds has difficulties more or less corresponding. In every such passage there may be or there ought to be characters more or less like that of Samuel, if the transition is to be safely effected. Of all the characters in the old dispensation, Samuel has in later times, both by friends and opponents, been the most often misrepresented and misunderstood. Of all characters in later times, those who undertake the difficult task of Samuel are the most likely to be misunderstood or misrepresented still. They are attacked from both sides; they are charged with not going far enough or with going too far; they are charged with saying too much or with saying too little; they are regarded from either partial point of view, and not from one which takes in the whole. They cannot be comprehended at a glance like Moses or Elijah or Isaiah, and therefore they are thrust aside. There have been those who have trod the same thankless path in former times of the Christian Church. Athanasius, in the moderate counsels of his old age, in his attempts to reconcile the contending factions of Christians

in the Council of Alexandria, was, for this reason, fitly regarded by [1] Basil as the Samuel of the Church of his days. In later times, even in our own, many names spring to our recollection, of those who have trodden or (in different degrees, some known, and some unknown) are treading the same thankless path in the Church of Germany, in the Church of France, in the Church of Russia, in the Church of England. Wherever they are, and whosoever they may be, and howsoever they may be neglected, or assailed, or despised, they, like their great prototype and likeness, in the Jewish Church, are the silent healers who bind up the wounds of their age in spite of itself; they are the good physicians who knit together the dislocated bones of a disjointed time; they are the reconcilers who turn the hearts of the children to the fathers, or of the fathers to the children. They have but little praise and reward from the partisans who are loud in indiscriminate censure and applause. But, like Samuel, they have a far higher reward, in the Davids who are silently strengthened and nurtured by them in Naioth of Ramah, — in the glories of a new age which shall be ushered in peacefully and happily after they have been laid in the grave.

In two important ways, this character of mediation, if I may so call it, was discernible in the Prophetical office generally, and, as far as we can see, was specially exemplified in Samuel.

His independence.

First, we observe in his position and character that independence of spirit which has sometimes caused the Prophets, and himself in particular, to be regarded almost as the demagogues, the tribunes, of the Jewish people. The song ascribed to his mother at his birth well expresses the new element, which was in him to break out and run across the usual tenor of Jewish society. "The bows of the mighty

[1] Basil, *Ep.* 82.

"men are broken, and they that stumbled are girded with "strength." "The Lord maketh [1] poor and maketh rich; "He bringeth low and lifteth up." Stern rebuke of the popular will, stern defiance of regal tyranny, stern denunciation of sacerdotal corruption, marked the entrance of the Prophetic dispensation into the Church. To be above the world, to derive courage and strength from a higher source than the world, was the first guarantee for a due discharge of the Prophetic mission. "There is none holy as the "Lord; for there is none beside thee; neither is there "any rock like our [2] God."

His anti-sacerdotal character.

But, secondly, in Samuel as afterwards, this attitude of solitary defiance was not the attitude of Priestly interest or ambition. Of all the "vulgar errors" in sacred history, none is greater than that which represents the conflict of Samuel with Saul as a conflict between the regal and sacerdotal power. It is doubtful even whether he was of [3] Levitical descent; it is certain that he was not a Priest. "Samuel Propheta fuit, Judex fuit, Levita fuit, non Pontifex, "ne Sacerdos quidem," is the just remark of [4] S. Jerome. And in accordance with this we may observe that Samuel himself, after the fall of Shiloh, dwelt not at Gibeon or Nob, the seat of the Tabernacle and the Priesthood, but at Ramah. At Ramah, and at Bethel, and at Gilgal, not at Hebron or Anathoth, were the Prophetic schools. He reproved Saul the King, only in the same way as, in his early childhood, he had reproved Eli the Priest. The guilt of Saul's sacrifice at Gilgal was not that it infringed on the province of the Priest: Saul as king had the same right to sacrifice, as David and Solomon had afterwards. It was that he in his rash

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 4, 7.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 2.

[3] Elkanah in 1 Sam. i. 1, is an Ephrathite or Ephraimite; in 1 Chron. vi. 22, 23, he is a Levite. This has been explained by Hengstenberg (on Ps. lxxviii. 1), Ewald (ii. 549), by supposing that the Levites were occasionally incorporated into the tribes amongst which they lived.

[4] *Adv. Jovinianum.*

superstition broke through the moral restraint imposed upon him by the Prophet. And in the yet more memorable scene, where Samuel, as the stern executioner of judgement on the captive Agag, protests against the misplaced mildness of Saul, his words rise far above the special occasion, and contain the keynote of the long remonstrance of the Prophets in all subsequent times against an exaggerated estimate of ceremonial above obedience. The very flow of the words recalls to us the form as well as the spirit of Amos and Isaiah. "Hath "the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices "as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold to obey is "better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. "For the sin of witchcraft is rebellion, and iniquity and "idolatry are stubbornness. . . . The Strength of "Israel will not lie nor repent; [1] for He is not a man that "He should repent."

There is one more aspect in which Samuel's life may be viewed. It was not merely as the chief leader of the People when they passed into the second stage of their national history, nor as the Founder of the Schools of the Prophets, that he is especially known as "Samuel the Prophet." It was, because, unlike Moses or Deborah, or any previous saint or teacher of the Jewish Church, he grew up for this office from his earliest years. He was "the Prophet" from *first to last.* Even in his parentage, we find a slight but significant indication of his preparation for it. His mother, as we have seen, was almost a prophetess; the word *Zophim*, as the affix of his birthplace *Ramathaim*, has been explained, not unreasonably, to mean "seers," or "watchmen;" and Elkanah his father is, in ancient Jewish [2] tradition, called "a disciple of the Prophets." This early education for his office is, after all, the picture of Samuel most familiar to our thoughts. It

His gradual growth.

[1] 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23, 29.

[2] *Targum* of Jonathan on 1 Sam. i. 1.

is not the terrible figure which rose up before the apostate king in the cave of Endor—the stern old man, ascending like a god from the earth, with threatening and disquieted countenance, with the fearful aspect of him who had presented the mangled remains of Agag as a sacrifice at Gilgal, who had called down thunder from heaven, who had shaken off Saul from the skirts of that prophetic mantle with which his face was veiled. It is not this shape, grand and striking though it be, in which Samuel usually rises to our recollections. It is as the little child in his linen ephod, and in the little "mantle" which his mother brought him from year to year; the child Samuel sleeping in the Tabernacle of Shiloh, in the simple sleep of innocence, unknowing of the sins which went on around him; roused by the mysterious voice, listening in deep reverence to its awful message. This is the image of Samuel which is enshrined to us in Christian art; this is the image which most appeals to our general sympathy, and on which the Sacred Text lays the most peculiar stress. On these early chapters of the Books of Samuel, we are told that in his gentler moments Luther used to dwell with the tenderness which formed the occasional counterpoise to the ruder passions and enterprises of his general life. Ever and anon amidst the crimes and terrors of the narrative of that troubled time; athwart the sins and corruptions of the Priesthood, and the passions and the calamities of the nation, the scene of the Sacred Story is, as it were, drawn back, and reveals to us, in successive glimpses, the one peaceful, consoling, hopeful image, and we hear the same gentle undersong of childlike, devoted, continuous, goodness. "His mother said, I will bring him that he may appear "before the Lord, and there *abide for* [1] *ever*." "And she "brought him unto the House of the Lord in Shiloh, and

[1] 1 Sam. i. 22.

"the *child was* [1] *young*." And she said, "For this child I "prayed; and the Lord hath given me the petition which I "asked of him. Therefore also I have lent him to the Lord; "*as long as he liveth, he shall be lent to the Lord.* And "[2] he *worshipped the Lord there*." "And the [3] *child did* "*minister* unto the Lord before Eli the Priest." ("The "sons of Eli were men of Belial; . . . and the sin of the "young men was very great before the Lord. . . .) But "*Samuel ministered before the Lord*, being a [4] child." "And "the *child Samuel grew before the Lord*." ("Now Eli was "very old, and heard all that his sons did to all Israel; and "said unto them, Why do ye such things? . . . Notwith- "standing they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, "because the Lord would slay them.") "And *the child* "Samuel *grew on*, and was in favour both with the Lord and "with [5] men." ("There came a man of God unto Eli and "said . . . Wherefore honourest thou thy sons above me, to "make yourselves fat with the chiefest of all the offerings "of Israel my people? And *the child Samuel* ministered "unto the Lord before [6] Eli." "And *Samuel grew and the* "*Lord* was with him, and did let *none of his words fall* "to the ground, *and all* Israel from *Dan to Beersheba* knew "that *Samuel was established to be a prophet* of the [7] Lord."

It is this contrast of the silent, inward, unconscious growth of Samuel, with the violence and profligacy of the times, that renders this narrative the first example, the first chapter, it may almost be called, of the like characteristic of the history of the Christian Church, in so many stages of its existence. It is also the expression of a universal truth. Samuel is the main example, as we have seen,

[1] 1 Sam. i. 24.
[2] *Ibid.* 27, 28. This act of worship on the part of the child is omitted in the LXX.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 11.
[4] *Ibid.* 12, 17, 18.
[5] *Ibid.* 21–26.
[6] *Ibid.* 27–36; iii. 1.
[7] *Ibid.* iii. 19, 20.

of the moderator and mediator of two epochs. He is, also, the first instance of a Prophet gradually raised for his office from the earliest dawn of reason. His work and his life are the counterparts of each other. With all the recollections of the ancient sanctuary impressed upon his mind—with the voice of God sounding in his ears, not, as in the case of the elder leaders and teachers of his people, amidst the roar of thunder and the clash of war, but in the still silence of the Tabernacle, ere the lamp of God went out—he was the more fitted to meet the coming crisis, to become himself the centre of new institutions, which should themselves become venerable as those in which he had been himself brought up. Because in him the various parts of his life hung together, without any abrupt transition; because in him "the child was father to the man," and his days had been "bound each to each by natural piety," therefore he was especially ordained to bind together the broken links of two diverging epochs; therefore he could impart to others, and to the age in which he lived, the continuity which he had experienced in his own life; therefore he could gather round him the better spirits of his time by that discernment of "a pure heart, which sees through heaven and hell." In that first childlike response, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," was contained the secret of his strength. When in each successive stage of his growth the call waxed louder and louder to duties more and more arduous, he could still look back without interruption to the first time when it broke his midnight slumbers; when, under the fatherly counsel of Eli, he had obeyed its summons, and found its judgements fulfilled. He could still, as he stood before the people at Gilgal, appeal to the unbroken purity of his long eventful life. Whatever might have been the lawless habits of the chiefs of those times,—Hophni, Phinehas, or his own sons,—he had kept aloof from all. "Behold, I am old and gray-headed, and I have walked

"before you *from my childhood unto this day.* Behold, "here I am; witness against me before the Lord." No ox or ass had he taken from their stalls; no bribe to obtain his [1] judgement,— not even so much as a [2] sandal. It is this appeal, and the universal response of the people, that has caused [3] Grotius to give him the name of the Jewish Aristides. And when the hour of his death came, we are told with a peculiar emphasis of expression, that "*all* the Israelites," — not one portion or fragment only, as might have been expected in that time of division and confusion,— "were gathered together" round him who had been the father of all alike, and "lamented him and buried him;" not in any sacred spot or secluded sepulchre, but in the midst of the home which he had consecrated only by his own long unblemished career, "in his house at [4] Ramah." We know not with certainty the situation of Ramah. Of [5] Samuel as of Moses it may be said, "No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." But the lofty peak above Gibeon, which has long borne his name, has this feature (in common, to a certain extent, with any high place which can have been the scene of his life and death), that it overlooks the whole of that broad table-land, on which the fortunes of the Jewish monarchy were afterwards unrolled. Its towering eminence, from which the pilgrims first obtained their view of Jerusalem, is no unfit likeness of the solitary grandeur of the Prophet Samuel, living and dying in the very midst and centre of the future glory of his country.

His grave.

[1] ἐξίλασμα (LXX.); 1 Sam. xii.

[2] ὑπόδημα (LXX.); 1 Sam. xii.

[3] Ecclus. xlvi. 19.

[4] 1 Sam. xxv. 1.

[5] This spot is still pointed out in a cave underneath the floor of the Mussulman mosque of Nebi Samwil. The only serious objection to this tradition, which reaches back as far as the seventh century, is the needless hypothesis which has endeavoured to identify Ramah with the nameless city in 1 Sam. ix. 6. See Mr. Grove's article on Ramathaim-zophim in *Dictionary of the Bible.*

The lessons of Samuel's life.

Is it possible to evade or to forget the illustration which this story derives from the experiences of education everywhere? The venerable sanctuary which Joshua had planted, and where Eleazar had ministered, the monuments of what I have before termed the mediæval age of the Jewish Church, is but the likeness, many times repeated in the Christian Church,—but nowhere more strikingly than in England and in Oxford,—of the ancient seats of education, the cathedrals, the monasteries, the colleges blending both together, where generation after generation is trained for the future exercise of the pastoral office. Under such auspices, both in the Jewish and in the Christian Church, grow up Hophni and Phinehas, the profligate sons of Eli, and the blameless youth of the child of Elkanah. Sacred associations, religious services, are as deadening and hardening to the one, as they are elevating and purifying to the other.

In this atmosphere, so charged with good and evil for the future, not less impressive is the lesson of the connection between Samuel's character and Samuel's mission. Wild excesses in youth are often followed by energy, by zeal, by devotion. We read it in the examples of Augustine, of Loyola, of John Newton. Sudden conversions of character such as these are amongst the most striking points of ecclesiastical history. But no less certain is it that they are rarely, very rarely, followed by moderation, by calmness, by impartial wisdom. Count the eager partisans of our own or of other times. How often shall we find that their early discipline was one of headstrong and violent passion. How often shall we find that the conversion of a lawless and reckless youth issues in the one-sided and superstitious zeal which hurries the ark of God into battle, after the example of Hophni and Phinehas,—which would oppose to the death the erection of the monarchy and the rise of the Prophets, as Hophni and Phinehas in all proba-

bility would have opposed it, had they been converted and spared.

Whatever else is gained by sudden and violent conversions, this is lost. Whatever else, on the other hand, is lost by the absence of experience of evil, by the calm and even life which needs no repentance, this is gained. The especial work of guiding, moderating, softening, the jarring counsels of men is for the most part the especial privilege of those who have grown up into matured strength from early beginnings of purity and goodness — of those who can humbly and thankfully look back through middle age, and youth and childhood, with no sudden rent or breach in their pure and peaceful recollections.

Samuel is the chief type, in ecclesiastical history, of holiness, of growth, of a new creation without conversion; and his mission is an example of the special missions which such characters are called to fulfil. In proportion as the different stages of life have sprung naturally and spontaneously out of each other, without any abrupt revulsion, each serves as a foundation on which the other may stand; each makes the foundation of the whole more sure and stable. In proportion as our own foundation is thus stable, and as our own minds and hearts have grown up gradually and firmly, without any violent disturbance or wrench to one side or to the other; in that proportion is it the more possible to view with calmness and moderation the difficulties and differences of others — to avail ourselves of the new methods and new characters that the advance of time throws in our way — return from present troubles to the pure and untroubled well of our early years — to preserve and to communicate the childlike faith, changed, doubtless, in form, but the same in spirit, in which we first knelt in humble prayer for ourselves and others, and drank in the first impressions of God and of Heaven. The call may come to us in many ways; it may

tell us of the change of the priesthood, of the fall of the earthly sanctuary, of the rise of strange thoughts, of the beginning of a new epoch. Happy are they who, here or elsewhere, are able to perceive the signs of the times, and to answer without fear or trembling, "Speak Lord, for thy "servant heareth."

LECTURE XIX.

THE HISTORY OF THE PROPHETICAL ORDER.

THE life of Samuel is so marked an epoch in the history of the Prophetical Office, that this seems the fittest place for the consideration of an institution, which, though it bore its chief fruits in the periods following on that just brought to a close in the foregoing Lectures, may yet be viewed as a whole in this critical moment of its existence.

It will accordingly be my endeavour to describe, first the Prophetical Order or Institution, in its original historical connection, and, secondly, the nature of the Prophetical Teaching in its relations to the moral and spiritual condition of the Jewish, and, indirectly, of the Christian Church.

The word PROPHET.

I. Before entering on the history of the order, the meaning of the word "Prophet," in the two sacred languages, must be exactly defined.

Nabi.

The Hebrew word *Nabi* is derived from the verb *naba*, which, however, never occurs in the active, but only in the passive conjugations of the verb, according to the analogy of the deponent verbs in Latin :— *loqui, fari, vociferari, vaticinari*, where the passive form seems to indicate that the speaker is swayed by impulses over which he has not himself entire control. The root of the verb is said to be a word signifying "to boil or bubble over," and is thus taken from the metaphor of a fountain bursting forth from the heart of man, into which God has poured [1] it. Its actual meaning is

[1] See Gesenius, in voce *Nabi*. Comp. Prov. i. 23.

to pour forth excited utterances, as appears from its occasional use in the sense of [1] *raving*. Even to this day, in the East, the ideas of prophet and madman are closely connected. The religious sense, in which, with these exceptions, the word is always employed, is that of "*speaking*" or "*singing under a divine afflatus or impulse*," to which the peculiar form of the word, as just observed, lends itself. The same seems to be the general sense of the Arabic *neby*. It is this word that the Seventy translated by a Greek term not of frequent usage in classical authors, but which, through their adoption of it, has passed into all modern European languages; namely, the word προφήτης, "PROPHET." The sense of this word in classical writers is not less clearly defined than that of *Nabi* in Hebrew, and, though not exactly the same in sense, is sufficiently analogous to justify its employment by the Alexandrine translators. It is always an *interpreter* or *medium* of the Divine will. Thus Apollo is the *Prophet* of Jupiter, the Pythia was the *Prophetess* of Apollo, and the attendants or expounders of her ejaculations were the *Prophets* of the Pythia. It is possible that the Seventy may have derived their use of the word from its special application in Egypt to the chief of the Sacerdotal order in any particular temple. His duties were to walk at the close of the sacred processions, bearing in his bosom an urn of sacred water; to control the taxes, and to teach the sacred books. It was probably in this last capacity that the Greek name of "Prophet" was applied to him, and that we hear of the office being held by Sonches and Sechnuphis, the reputed masters of [2] Pythagoras and of Plato.

"Prophet."

The Greek preposition *pro* (πρὸ) as compounded in the

[1] 1 Sam. xviii. 10. Comp. 2 Kings ix. 11, and the connection of μάντις and μαίνομαι.

[2] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 15, vi. 4, and Valesius' notes on Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 8.

word *Pro*-phet, has, as is well known, the threefold meaning of "beforehand," "in public," and "in behalf of" or "for." It is possible that all these three meanings may have a place in the word. But the one which unquestionably predominates in its original meaning is the third, — "one who speaks for," or as "the mouthpiece of [1] another." As applied therefore by the Septuagint, in the Old Testament, and by the writers of the New Testament, who have taken the word from the Septuagint, it is used simply to express the same idea as that intended in the Hebrew *Nabi:* not *foreteller*, nor (as has been said more truly, but not with absolute exactness), "*forth-teller*," but "[2] spokesman," and (in the religious sense in which it is almost invariably used) "expounder," and "interpreter" of the Divine Mind.

Modern use of the word.

The English words "prophet," "prophecy," "prophesying," originally kept tolerably close to the Biblical use of the word. The celebrated dispute about "prophesyings," in the sense of "preachings," in the reign of Elizabeth, and the treatise of Jeremy Taylor on *The Liberty of Prophesying, i. e.*, the liberty of preaching, show that even down to the seventeenth century, the word was still used, as in the Bible, for "preaching," or "speaking according to the will of God." In the seventeenth century, however, the limitation of the word to the sense of "prediction," had gradually begun to [3] appear; founded partly on a misapprehension of the true

[1] This appears clearly from the words *πρόμαντις* and *ὑποφήτης* used synonymously with it (see Liddell and Scott *in voce*).

[2] Thus in Exod. iv. 16, vii. 1. "Aaron shall be thy prophet," — "*instead of a mouth.*"

[3] It is true that Clement of Alexandria occasionally dwells on the word (*Strom.* ii. 12) as equivalent to *προθεσπίζειν* and *προγινώσκειν*, whence it would seem that he took the preposition as signifying *beforehand*. But there is hardly any appearance of this usage either in the LXX. or the New Testament. The nearest approaches in the Biblical use of the word "Prophet" to the sense of prediction are in the speeches and epistles of St. Peter. (Acts ii. 30; iii. 18, 21; 1 Pet. i. 10; 2 Pet. i. 19, 20; iii. 2.)

meaning of the Greek preposition, partly on the attention attracted by the undoubtedly predictive parts of the prophetical writings.

This secondary meaning of the word had by the time of Dr. Johnson so entirely superseded the original Scriptural signification, that he gives no other special definition of it than "to predict, to foretell, to prognosticate;" "a predicter, a foreteller;" "foreseeing or foretelling future events;" and in this sense it has been used almost down to our own day, when the revival of Biblical criticism has resuscitated, in some measure, the Biblical use of the word.

A somewhat similar divergence of sentiment has sprung up in the Mussulman world. The Sonnites or orthodox Mussulmans still use the word in its original sense as a divinely instructed teacher, whilst the Shiahs or heretical Mussulmans use it as equivalent to one who has the power of prediction. It is even said that this difference as to the meaning of the Prophetic office, far more than the dispute respecting the succession to the Caliphate, lies at the root of that great schism in the Mussulman community.

How far the modern limitation of the word is borne out by the unquestionable prevalence of Prediction in the Prophetical Office of the Jewish Church, will best appear in the next Lecture. Meanwhile, it is important at the outset, and in the history of the Order, to adhere to the ancient and only Biblical use of the term.

THE PROPHET then was "the messenger or interpreter of the Divine will," the more so, as the contracted sense in which it is now popularly employed would exclude from our consideration the most remarkable and characteristic instances of it,—Moses, Samuel, and Elijah, in the Old Testament, John the Baptist and St. Paul in the New. Such is the force of all the synonyms employed for the office. The Prophet

is expressly called "the [1] interpreter," and "the [2] messenger of Jehovah." He is also called "the man of [3] spirit," and "the Spirit of Jehovah" enters into [4] him, "clothes" [5] him (thus corresponding almost exactly to our word "inspired.") The greater Prophets are called "men of [6] God." His communication is called "the word of Jehovah," and a peculiar term is used for the Divine voice in this connection, chiefly in Ezekiel and [7] Jeremiah. In the New Testament this meaning is still continued. The detailed descriptions of "prophesying," by [8] S. Paul are hardly distinguishable from what we should call "preaching;" the word [9] "exhortation," or "consolation," is used as identical with it; and the same stress as in the Old Testament is laid on the force of the Divine impulse, whence it sprung. "Prophecy came not in old time by the "will of man; but holy men of old spake as they were "moved by the Holy [10] Ghost." "God spake by (or "in") "the [11] Prophets;" whence the phrase in the Nicene Creed, "The Holy Spirit . . . spoke by the Prophets."

Two points thus distinguish the Prophets from first to last. The first is their consciousness of deriving their gift from a Divine source. No other literature so directly appeals to such an origin. The impulse was [12] irresistible. "Woe is me "if I preach not the [13] gospel." Secondly, the Divine communication is made through the persons of men. The rustling leaves of Dodona, or the symptoms of the entrails in Roman sacrifices, were thought "oracular," or "predictive," but

[1] Isa. xliii. 27. Translated "teachers."

[2] Haggai i. 13; Mal. i. 1 (the word "Malachi"); Judg. ii. 1.

[3] Hos. ix. 7.

[4] Ezek. ii. 2.

[5] Judg. vi. 34; 1 Chron. xii. 18; 2 Chron. xxiv. 20.

[6] Comp. 1 Sam. ii. 27; ix. 6; 1 Kings xii. 22; xiii. 1, 2.

[7] נָבִיא See Gesenius, *in voce*.

[8] 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 4. 24, 25.

[9] Bar-*nabas* ("the son of prophesying") is expressly translated *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*, "the son of exhortation," or as in our version, "consolation," Acts iv. 36. Comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

[10] 2 Pet. i. 21.

[11] Heb. i. 1.

[12] Num. xxiv. 1.

[13] 1 Cor. ix. 16.

would never have been called "prophetic." The "Urim and Thummim" on the High Priest's breastplate might be the medium of a Divine Revelation, but whatever intimations they conveyed were not made through the mind and mouth of a man, and were therefore not [1] "prophecies."

II. Such being the meaning of the word, I proceed to give a brief history of the Institution, in the Jewish Church. The life and character of each individual prophet will belong to the period in which he appeared. But a general survey of all is necessary to a just understanding of each.

Strictly speaking, the name and office of a Prophet was not confined to the Jewish people. Not to speak of the origin of the name as derived from Greek and Egyptian heathenism, the Bible itself recognizes the existence of "Prophets" outside the pale of the true religion. The earliest and greatest instance of a heathen Prophet is [2] Balaam; and the form as well as the substance of his prophecies is cast in the same mould as that of the Hebrew prophets themselves. The "prophets of Baal" are also frequently mentioned during the history of the monarchy, and "false [3] prophets" are described as abounding. S. Paul also recognizes Epimenides the Cretan as a [4] "prophet;" perhaps merely as an equivalent to "poet," or *vates*, but probably in allusion to the mys-

The heathen Prophets.

[1] Two or three other phrases in connection with the office must be briefly noticed: 1. The word *nataph* נָטַף rendered "prophesy" and "prophet," in Micah ii. 6, 11, has the force of dropping, as gum from a tree, and thus falls in with the original signification of *Nabi*. 2. The ancient word for "prophet," superseded by *Nabi* shortly after Samuel's time, is "Seer" (*Roeh*), 1 Sam. ix.; 1 Chron. ix. 22; xxvi. 28; xxix. 29. 3. Another antique title was "Gazer" (*Hozeh*), 1 Chron. xxv. 5; xxi. 9; xxix. 29; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19; Hab. i. 1; Isa. i. 1; ii. 1; xiii. 1; Amos i. 1. The last trace of the seer is in "Hanani the seer" in the reign of Asa, 2 Chron. xvi. 7; the last of the gazer in the reign of Manasseh, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.

[2] See Lecture VIII.

[3] The names of some of these have been preserved. Hananiah (Jer. xxviii. 1, 17; LXX.), Zedekiah (Jer. xxix. 21), Ahab (*Ibid.*), Shemaiah (*Ibid.* 24), Zedekiah (1 Kings xxii. 11, 24).

[4] Tit i. 12.

terious and religious character with which Epimenides was invested. [1] S. Jude also speaks of the apocryphal book of Enoch as a prophecy. These instances are important, both as illustrating the meaning of the word and the nature of the office, and also showing the freedom with which the Bible recognizes "revelation" and "inspiration" outside the circle of the Chosen People. Still it is within that circle, and as a special characteristic of the Jewish Church and nation, that the office must be considered.

The rise of the Prophetic Order.

(1.) There is no direct mention of a Prophet before the time of Moses. The name is indeed incidentally given to Abraham when Abimelech is warned to restore [2] Sarah, "for "he is a *prophet*, and he shall pray for thee;" and probably the Psalmist makes the same [3] allusion in the expression, "Do my *prophets* no harm." But Abraham never utters what would be called "prophecies;" and those promises and predictions which are made to him, or which occur in the earlier chapters of Genesis, in the primeval narrative of the Fall, though often classed by modern divines as "the first "prophecies," are never so called in the Bible, which, as we have seen, only recognizes under the name of "prophecies" those which are delivered through the personal agency of men. A nearer approach is in the Blessing of [4] Jacob. This, however, is never directly called a prophecy in the Bible, nor is Jacob called a Prophet.

Under Moses.

But Moses receives the name repeatedly, and in one famous [5] passage is made the type or likeness of the whole order, even of the Last and Greatest of all. The exposition of the Law is what most peculiarly marks his position. The poetical gift displayed in the three Songs of the

[1] Verse 14.
[2] Gen. xx. 7.
[3] Ps. cv. 15.
[4] Gen. xlix.
[5] Deut. xviii. 15–18. See Lecture VII.

[1]Pentateuch, and the 90th Psalm, belongs to [2]him in common with the Prophets of a later time. Such a burst of prophecy, as is contained in the acts and words of Moses, of itself marks his appearance as the first Prophetical epoch in the Jewish Church, and, as might be expected, indications of its lesser manifestations elsewhere at this time are faintly discerned. Aaron is described as "a "prophet" in relation to Moses [3]himself. Miriam is almost always designated as "the prophetess," and on one occasion not only the seventy elders, but two youths outside the sacred circle, are described as catching the Divine afflatus; and the great Prophet, in despite of the narrower spirit of the soldier Joshua, wishes that it should extend to the whole [4]people.

Under the Judges.

(2.) With the generation of Moses the gift seems for a time to have expired. Joshua has sometimes been reckoned as a Prophet, and his address to the people before his death may, in the Hebrew sense of the word, perhaps be regarded as a prophecy. But this is not a usual view of his position. Josephus thinks that he was accompanied by a Prophet. And on one occasion, just before his death, a "messenger of the Lord," an earlier "Malachi," is described as addressing the people at [5]Bochim. Two more such nameless Prophets appear in the days of Gideon and of Eli. Ehud apparently had that character at the court of [7]Moab. But these are doubtful and isolated instances. The only detailed and characteristic prophecy of the time of the Judges, is that of "the Prophetess" [8]Deborah. The other Judges, if Prophets at all, are Prophets only in action. They were "*clothed* with the Divine Spirit," or [9]"*struck*" by it, but only to perform acts of strength, not to utter words of wisdom.

It is at the close of the period of the Judges that the

[1] Ex. xv. 1–19; Deut. xxxii., xxxiii.
[2] Lecture VIII.
[3] Ex. iv. 16; vii. 1.
[4] Num. xi. 25–29.
[5] Judg. ii. 1.
[6] *Ibid.* vi. 8; 1 Sam. ii. 27.
[7] *Ibid.* iii. 20.
[8] *Ibid.* iv. 4; v. 7.
[9] See Lecture XII.

office of Prophet first becomes not merely an occasional manifestation, but a fixed institution in the Jewish Church. Samuel is the true founder of the *Order* of Prophets. "Until "Samuel the prophet," "From Samuel and those that follow "[1]after," "[2] Samuel and the Prophets," are expressions which exactly agree with the facts of the history. In his time the name of "Prophet," (*Nabi*) first came into use, in place of the ancient and less exalted title of "[3]Seer" (*Roeh*), or "Gazer" (*Hozeh*). In his time [4]first appear the companies of "the sons of the prophets." From his time the succession continues, in every generation, unbroken down to Malachi. He, like Moses, appears not alone, but as the centre of a circle of Prophets; but, unlike Moses, of a circle some of whom were as highly endowed with prophetic gifts as he himself. Without dwelling on the doubtful case of his father Elkanah and his mother Hannah, there were certainly Gad, Nathan, David, Saul, and Heman, Samuel's grandson, amongst those who, if they were not actually educated by him, all marked the epoch of his appearance. Amongst these, Samuel, Gad, and Heman, as if still belonging in a measure to the older state of things, are called "Seers," whereas Nathan and [5]David bear, without variation, the new name of "Prophet." Under Samuel.

(3.) From the two most remarkable of this age, Nathan and David, flowed, in all probability, the two prophetic schools, which never entirely ceased out of the Jewish Church as long as the prophetic gift lasted at all, but which may be noticed especially on this their first appearance. David, in continental nations is always termed not "the "Royal Psalmist," but "the Prophet King," and in Mus- Under David and Nathan.

[1] Acts iii. 24; xiii. 20.
[2] Heb. xi. 32.
[3] 1 Sam. ix. 9.
[4] See Lecture XVIII.
[5] Samuel, 1 Chron. ix. 22 xxvi. 28; xxix. 29, "the seer" (*Roeh*); Gad, 1 Chron. xxix. 29; xxi. 9; Heman, 1 Chron. xxv. 5; "the gazer" (*Hozeh*); Nathan "the prophet" (*Nabi*), 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

sulman traditions is especially known as "the Prophet of God," as Abraham is the "Friend," and Mahomet "the Apostle" of God. He gave to his prophetic utterances the peculiar charm of song and music, which has procured him amongst ourselves the name of "the Psalmist," and to his prophecies and those that are formed on their model, the name of "Psalms," or "songs." Nathan (who probably is the first "seer" that received distinctly the name of "Prophet"), in one of the only two prophecies directly ascribed to him, gives it the form of an apologue or proverb, that of the ewe-lamb; and being as he was the main supporter, if [1] not instructor, of Solomon, may be considered as the first example of that kind of moral instruction in which the gifts of Solomon, though not expressly called prophetic, found their chief vent.

In the Northern Kingdom.

(4.) It was in the disorders at the close of Solomon's reign that the Prophetic Order assumed an importance in the state such as it had never acquired before. Samuel had transferred the crown from Saul to David; Nathan from Adonijah to Solomon. But Ahijah, in transferring it from Rehoboam to Jeroboam, created not merely a new dynasty, but a new kingdom. The northern kingdom was, during the first period of its existence, the kingdom of the Prophets. The Priests took refuge in Judah. But the Prophets, for the first two centuries after the disruption, were almost entirely confined to Israel. All the seats of prophetic instruction (with the possible exception of Ramah) were within the kingdom of Samaria,—Bethel, Jericho, Gilgal, Carmel.

We hear of these by [2] fifties, and by hundreds at once, and amongst these the names of many have come down to us: Ahijah of [3] Shiloh, Iddo [4] "the seer," Jehu the son of

[1] 2 Sam. xii. 25. (LXX.); 1 Kings i. 10.

[2] 1 Kings xviii. 4; 2 Kings ii. 3.

[3] 1 Kings xi. 29.

[4] 2 Chron. ix. 29. Identified by

[1]Hanani, [2]Obadiah, [3]Micaiah, [4]Oded, and, chiefest of all, Elijah and Elisha. A few Prophets of the southern kingdom are mentioned as contemporary with these: [5]Azariah, [6]Hanani "the seer," [7]Eliezer. But neither in numbers nor in influence can these be compared with those who had their sphere of action in the north, of whom Elijah stands forth as the great representative. In this arduous position, sometimes at variance, sometimes in close harmony, with the Kings of Israel, they maintained the true religion in the northern tribes, at times when in Judah it was crushed to the ground, and when in Israel it had to struggle against severe persecution or sluggish apathy. And by their free passage to and fro between the rival kingdoms, and their endeavours on both sides to keep up a [8]sentiment of humanity, the Prophets of this epoch must be regarded as important instruments for upholding not only the religious but the national unity.

In the Kingdom of Judah, as writers.

(5.) This is the great epoch of the Prophetic action as distinct from the Prophetic writings of the Jewish Church. It is true that during this time the main historical literature of the country was formed under the prophetic guidance. We have distinct notices of the works in which Samuel, Gad, and [9]Nathan described the life of David, and in which Nathan and Iddo described the lives of Solomon and [10]Jeroboam. These unfortunately have all perished. Their historical as well as their poetical writings, no less than those of the still earlier period of Moses and the Judges, are handed down in the compositions or compilations of others. The writings of David alone have been preserved in an independent and original

Josephus and Jerome with the prophet of Judah, 1 Kings xiii. 1.

[1] 1 Kings xvi. 7.

[2] 1 Kings xviii. 3; and 2 Kings iv. 1, according to Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4, § 2).

[3] 1 Kings xxii. 8.

[4] 2 Chron. xxviii. 9.

[5] *Ibid.* xv. 1–8.

[6] *Ibid.* xvi. 7.

[7] *Ibid.* xx. 37.

[8] 2 Chron. xxviii. 9. See Lecture XX.

[9] 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

[10] *Ibid.*; 2 Chron. ix. 29.

form. But about the time of the destruction of the northern kingdom, a new phase passed over the Prophetic Order. Probably in consequence of the increasing cultivation of the people that had set in during the reign of Solomon, and had gradually penetrated all classes, the Prophets, or their immediate disciples, seem to have committed to writing the greater part of their prophecies.

Of these written prophecies, the earliest is probably that of Joel; and in him the man of action is still visible athwart the written record. Close following upon him, are the last Prophets of the declining kingdom of the north,—Jonah (whether as appearing in the history or in the book of which he is the subject), Hosea, and Amos.

Immediately succeeding to these, but now confined to the southern kingdom, rises the great school of Prophets, under Uzziah and his three successors, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, and "Zechariah, who had understanding in the visions of "God." Following upon these, in fainter strains, as the external dangers increased, and the internal strength of the kingdom declined, were Zephaniah, probably Habakkuk, Obadiah, and the nameless "[2] seer" or "seers" in the reign of Manasseh. The whole of this series is concluded by the most mournful, and in some respects the greatest of the older Prophets, Jeremiah, with the circle of inferior Prophets round him,—Huldah the [3] Prophetess, [4] Urijah, and Hanan.

In the Captivity.

(6.) Jeremiah is the last of the Prophetic Order who is actively concerned in moving the affairs of the State and Church. In the Prophets of the Captivity and of the Return, the

[1] 2 Chron. xxvi. 5. This is probably the same as Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah (Isa. viii. 2), to whom have been often ascribed, with much probability, portions, if not the whole, of the prophecies quoted by S. Matthew (xxvii. 9, 10) under the name of Jeremiah, and now contained in the writings of the later Zechariah (Zech. ix.—xiii.).

[2] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.

[3] 2 Kings xxii. 14.

[4] Jer. xxvi. 20; xxxv. 4.

character of authors goes far to supersede the character of their older mission. Their works are for the most part, as those of their predecessors had never been, arranged in chronological sequence, and their style becomes continuous and fixed. Amongst these, three names are conspicuous,—Ezekiel, who connects the close of the monarchy with the commencement of the Captivity; the [1] Evangelical Prophet, who heralds the return from the Captivity; and [2] Daniel, whatever be the exact date or character we assign to the book which bears his name. The group following the Captivity consists of Haggai, [3] Zechariah, and the unknown "messenger," whom we call Malachi. These three, probably, alone of the books of the Old Testament, stand in the canons in the order in which they were originally published. The only other indications of the prophetic spirit in this period are amongst the Samaritans,—"the prophetess Noadiah," and "the rest of the [4] Prophets." [5] Ezra is once called a Prophet in one of the later books to which his name is affixed; but this is not his usual designation.

And the Return.

(7.) With Malachi, accordingly, the succession which had

[1] By this term may be designated the Author of Isa. xl.—lxvi., whether, with most continental scholars, he is regarded as a separate prophet from the Isaiah of Hezekiah, or, with most English divines, he is regarded as the older Isaiah, transported into a style and position later than his own time.

[2] The Jewish Canon refuses to acknowledge the prophetic character of this Book, and places it in the Hagiographa. The title, as it stands in our own version, is not the "Book of Daniel the Prophet," but "the Book of Daniel." Ecclesiasticus (xlix. 9, 10) omits, in like manner, all mention of it. In the quotation from it in Mark xiii. 14, the best MSS. omit all mention of the name or office of the writer. In the corresponding passage in Matt. xxiv. 15, the Syriac version omits the name of the writer. But still as the word "prophet" is in that text associated with the book, and as Daniel is so reckoned by the Eastern world at the present day, and as the book unquestionably contains a special prophetic element of the highest value (on which I shall enlarge in my next Lecture), we may so far follow the received opinion of the present day as to rank him amongst the Prophets, of this or of the succeeding period, according to the view taken of the date of the book.

[3] See especially Zech. i.—viii.

[4] Neh. vi. 14.

[5] 2 Esdras i. 1.

continued unbroken from the time of Samuel terminates, and a host of legends, Jewish and Mussulman, commemorate the extinction of the prophetic gift. "We see not our signs: "there is no more any [1] prophet." It is true that the Books of Baruch, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, lay claim, more or less, both to the prophetic form and prophetic character. Still the impassioned poetic flow of the earlier Prophets is greatly abated, and the name is rarely used. The Religion of the Old Dispensation was fully revealed and constituted — not prophets were needed to declare it, but "scribes" to expound and defend [2] it.

Extinction of Prophecy.

Revival at the Christian era.

It is this long silence or deterioration of the gift that renders its resuscitation more remarkable. It was "in the "days of Herod the king" that the voice of a Prophet was once more heard. We shall never understand the true appearance of the Baptist, or of Him whose forerunner he was, nor the continuity of the Old and New Testaments, unless we bear in mind that the period of the Christian era was the culminating point of the Prophetic ages of the Jewish Church. "The word of God came unto John the son of Zechariah," as it had come before to Isaiah the son of Amoz. "The people counted him as a prophet." "He was a prophet, and more than a [3] prophet." In appearance, in language, in character, he was what Elijah had been in the reign of Ahab. And yet he was only the messenger of a Prophet greater than himself. The whole public ministry of our Lord was that of a Prophet. He was much more than this. But it was as a Prophet that He acted and spoke. It was this which gave Him His hold on the mind of the nation. He entered, as it were naturally, on an office vacant, but already existing. His discourses were all, in the highest sense of the word, "prophecies."

The Baptist.

CHRIST.

[1] Ps. lxxiv. 9.

[2] This is well brought out in Nicolas' *Doctrines Religieuses des Juifs*, 25.

[3] Luke iii. 2; Matt. xi. 9; xiv. 8. Zacharias and Anna also indicate the return of the prophetic gift (Luke i. 67, ii. 36.).

The Apostles.

And, when He was withdrawn from the earth, He, like Moses and Samuel, left a circle of Prophets behind Him, through whom the sacred gift was continued and diffused. It was one of the expected marks of the Messiah's kingdom that the prophetic inspiration should become [1]universal. This expectation S. Peter saw realised on the day of Pentecost; and from S. Paul's [2]allusions, it is evident that the possession of the gift throughout the Christian community was the rule, and not the exception. Some there were more eminent than others, whose names, sayings, or writings, have been preserved to us. [3]Agabus, Simeon Niger, Lucius, Manaen, Philip's daughters, [4]Joseph, who derived from this gift the name by which he was usually known, of "Barnabas," Saul, who was called Paul, [5]John; and to these we may probably add, though not expressly bearing the name, Cephas or Peter, Jacob or James the Younger, Judas or Thaddeus, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. With John, as far as we know, the name and the thing ceased. There have been great men to whom the title has been given in later times. There have been others who have claimed it for themselves. But in the peculiar Biblical, Hebrew sense of the word, and certainly within the circle of the Jewish Church, S. John was the Last of the Prophets.

The Institution.

III. This rapid sketch may suffice to have given a connected view of the history of the Order. I now proceed to describe some of its characteristics, as an Institution.

(1.) The first call, in most instances of which there are records, seems to have been through a vision or apparition, resembling those which have in Christian times produced celebrated conversions, as of the Cross to Constantine, and to Colonel Gardiner, and of the voice to S.

[1] Joel ii. 28, 29.
[2] 1 Cor. xii., xiv.
[3] Acts xi. 28; xiii. 1; xxi. 8, 9, 10.
[4] Acts iv. 36; xiii. 2, 7.
[5] Rev. x. 11; xxii. 7, 9, 10, 18, 19.

Prophetic call through Visions;

Augustine. The word "Seer," by which "the [1] prophet" was originally called, implies that visions were the original mode of revelation to the Prophets. These visions in the case of the Prophets of the Old Testament were almost always presented in images peculiarly appropriate to the age or the person to whom they appear; and almost always conveying some lofty conception of the Divine nature. Such are the vision of the Burning Bush to Moses, of the Throne in the Temple to Isaiah, of the complicated chariot-wheels to Ezekiel, and (although not at the commencement of his mission) of the still small voice to Elijah. The highest form of vision in the Old Testament is that mentioned in the case of Moses, who is described as something even above a Prophet. "If there be a prophet among you, I THE LORD "will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak "unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is "faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth "to mouth, even visibly, and not in dark speeches; and the "similitude of THE LORD shall he [2] behold."

In like manner to the great Prophets of the New Testament, the purpose of these Divine visions seems to have been effected by the intercourse of the Apostles with Christ. "Have I not seen Christ the [3] Lord?" is S. Paul's account of his own qualifications, which would apply to all of them.

These visions or communications are described as taking place sometimes through dreams, as in the case of Samuel, Nathan, Elijah at Horeb; sometimes through an ecstatic trance, as in the case of Balaam, S. John, and S. Peter; sometimes both, as in the case of S. Paul. But the more ordinary mode through which "the word of the Lord," as far as we can trace, came, was through a Divine impulse given to the Prophet's own thoughts. This may be seen partly

through the Prophet's mind.

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 9.
[2] Num. xii. 6–8.
[3] 1 Cor. ix. 1.

from the absence of any direct mention of an external appearance or voice, partly from the fact that the message as delivered is expressed in the peculiar style of the individual prophet who speaks. This close connection between the Divine message and the personal thoughts and affections of the Prophet is still more apparent in the New Testament than in the Old, and reaches its highest point in the utterances of the Greatest of all the Prophets, Christ Himself. In Him the Divine is so closely united with the human, that the passage from the one to the other is imperceptible. He is Himself "*the Word.*" In three cases only, but [1] then for special purposes, is there any indication of a communication external to himself. "He speaks that which "He knows, and testifies that which He has seen."

Absence of consecration.

(2.) In accordance with this intimate relation between the Prophets and their Divine call, is the fact that of all the offices of the Jewish Church and State, this alone appears to be the direct result of the call, without any outward or formal consecration. Kings and Priests, in the Old Testament, are anointed; bishops (or presbyters) and deacons in the New Testament, have an imposition of hands. But there is no instance (or but [2] one) of the anointing of a Prophet in the Old Testament, or of the consecration, by laying on hands, of a Prophet or Apostle in the New Testament. It was a "call," corresponding to the call of natural gifts, or inward movements of the Divine Spirit through the conscience, in our own times.

Universality.

(3.) The Prophetic office, thus dependent entirely on the personal relation of the Prophet to his Divine Instructor, was, unlike any of the other sacred offices of the ancient world, confined to no one circle or caste of men. Its universality is everywhere part of its essence. Although a few, such as

[1] Matt. iii. 17; xvii. 5; John xii. 28.

[2] 1 Kings xix. 16: "Thou shalt anoint Elisha." But there is no record that this was done.

Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and John the Baptist, were priests, although Moses and Samuel belonged to the tribe of Levi, yet there was nothing sacerdotal even in these; in this respect forming a remarkable contrast to the Egyptian "Prophets," as described by Clement of Alexandria. Most of them belonged to other tribes; the Greatest of all was of the tribe of Judah. They came from every station of life. Moses, Deborah, and Samuel were warriors and leaders of the people; David and Saul were kings; Amos was a herdsman; Elijah a Bedouin wanderer. Women as well as men were seized by the gift,—Miriam, Deborah, Huldah, Anna, the four daughters of Philip. This universal diffusion of the gift answered the double purpose of keeping the minds of the people alive to the constant expectation of some new Prophet appearing in the [1] most secluded or unwonted situation; and also of maintaining a constant protest against the rigidity of caste and ceremonial institution, into which all religion, especially all Eastern religion, is likely to fall. To a certain degree the institution of the Christian clergy fulfills the same end, as being open to all comers from whatever rank. But even here the effect is less striking than in the case of the Jewish Prophet; partly, because in some branches of Christendom, as in the Russian Church, the clergy have virtually become an hereditary caste, partly because in modern times they have practically been drawn from one stratum of society, and have been animated by a professional feeling, such as must have been impossible in the Jewish Prophets, who included within their number functions so different as those of king and peasant, characters so different as Saul and Isaiah.

(4.) But although the office was characterised by this universal spirit, the Prophets still constituted a separate order in the state which, at least during the time of the

[1] See Lecture VII.

monarchy, can be reproduced in some detail, and compared to like institutions elsewhere. From Samuel's time they appear to have been formed into separate companies, to which modern divines have given the name of "schools of "the [1] prophets." These companies are described by a word signifying "chain" or "cord." They were called "sons "of the prophets;" and their chief for the time being was (like the "abbot" of a monastery) called [2] "father." Music and song were among the instruments of their [3] education. They were congregated chiefly at Ramah (during Samuel's life), and afterwards at Bethel, Gilgal, Jericho, and finally Jerusalem. At Jerusalem many of them lived in chambers attached to the court of the [4] Temple. They wore a simple dress — perhaps, since Elijah introduced it, a sheepskin [5] cloak. In Samuel's time (according to [6] Josephus) long hair and abstinence from wine were regarded as signs of a Prophet. They had their food in [7] common. They lived in huts made of the branches of [8] trees. In one such, probably, John lived in the same neighbourhood. They were to be found in considerable numbers, — [9] fifty, or even four hundred at a [10] time. Not to have been brought up in these schools was deemed an exceptional [11] case. Some, like Isaiah in Jerusalem, or Elisha in Samaria, lived in great towns, in houses of their own. The higher Prophets had inferior Prophets or servants attendant upon them, whose duty it was to pour water on their hands, and

Schools of the Prophets.

[1] The word "schools" nowhere occurs in the Authorised Version, nor has it any corresponding term in the original. "Sons of the prophets" is the nearest approach to a collective name, as in 2 Kings ii. 3; iv. 1, 38, 43. The fullest account of them is in 1 Chron. xxv. To these passages should probably be added Eccles. xii. 8–11. There is an ingenious description of them in Cowley's *Davideis*.

[2] 2 Kings ii. 12.
[3] 1 Sam. x. 5.
[4] Jer. xxxv. 4.
[5] Zech. xiii. 4.
[6] *Ant.* v. 10, § 3.
[7] 2 Kings iv. 40.
[8] *Ibid.* vi. 1–5.
[9] *Ibid.* ii. 16.
[10] 1 Kings xxii. 6.
[11] Amos vii. 14.

secure provisions for [1] them. Thus Moses had Joshua and others; Elijah had Elisha; Elisha had Gehazi. Many of them were married, and had families; for example, Moses, Miriam, Deborah, Samuel, David, Nathan, Ahijah, Hosea, Isaiah, Ezekiel. The wife was sometimes, as in the case of the wife of Isaiah, called "the [2] Prophetess." This continued to the prophetical office in the New Testament, when all the greater Prophets claimed, and most of them enjoyed, the privilege of married life, — Zacharias, Anna, and all of the Apostles, it is said, [3] except Paul and John. To this manner of life several parallels suggest themselves in later times. The rule of inmates of colleges and of monasteries in some points resembles, and has perhaps imitated, the outward forms of the prophetic schools. But the Christian and Western notions of celibacy have made a material difference; and, on the whole, the nearest approach is that of dervishes in the East, — in their wandering life, in their symbolical actions, in their scanty dress, in their succession of disciples, and their collegiate [4] institutions.

Manner of teaching.

(5.) Their manner of teaching varied with the age in which they lived. The expression of thoughts in the form of poetry seems to have been part of the conception of the prophetic office from the very first. It is involved, as we have seen, in the sense of the Hebrew word *Nabi*. It appears first in the songs of Moses and [5] Miriam. It is also implied by the mention of the musical instruments in the schools of [6] Samuel and of Asaph. It is illustrated by the incident in the life of Elisha, who though he has left no poetical writings, yet required a [7] minstrel and harp to call forth his powers. It is forcibly exemplified by the grand burst of

[1] 2 Kings iii. 11; v. 22.
[2] Isa. viii. 3.
[3] See notes on 1 Cor. ix. 5.
[4] See Dr. Wolff's Travels, ch. xvii., xviii., xxxiv.
[5] Ex. xv. 1, 20, 21; Deut. xxxii., xxxiii.; Ps. xc.
[6] 1 Sam. x. 5; 1 Chron. xxv. 1.
[7] 2 Kings iii. 15.

sacred poetry and music in David; and from that time most of the Prophets, whose writings have come down to us, wrote in verse. The historical chapters in Isaiah and Jeremiah are however in prose; and it is therefore probable that this was also the case with the lost works, on which the sacred history of the Jewish Monarchy is founded; such as the biographies of David by Samuel, Gad, and Nathan; of Solomon, by Nathan, and Ahijah, and Iddo; of Rehoboam, by Iddo and Shemaiah; of Jehoshaphat by [1] Jehu. It is, perhaps, from the connection between these lost writings and the present books of Samuel and Kings, that those books are in the Jewish Canon reckoned amongst the "Books of the Prophets." But these were the exceptions. The general style of the Jewish Prophets was poetical, and it is this which made the divines of the last century speak of the Prophets as the *Poets* of the Jewish nation. If we no longer dare to use the name, on account of the offence created by it, at least the fact is a sanction to us that poetry was regarded as a prophetic gift, and as the fittest vehicle of Divine Revelation, and that a book is not the less divine or the less canonical or the less true, because it is poetical. Even in the New Testament, there are, in the more directly prophetical parts, many lingering traces of the ancient poetic style. The Hebrew parallelism may be discovered in several of the Gospel discourses. Some of the parables, particularly of the Prodigal Son, and the Rich Man and Lazarus, are almost poems. The Epistles have their first model in the prophetic epistles of Elijah, Jeremiah, and Baruch; and though they are mostly in prose, yet there are portions of which the [2] highly rhythmical character flows entirely in the ancient mould. The Apocalypse is also thoroughly poetical in structure, as well as in spirit.

[1] 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29; xii. 15; xx. 34; xiii. 22.

[2] Rom. viii. 29–39; 1 Cor. xiii. 1–8, xv. 35–58; 2 Cor. vi. 3–10; James v. 1–6.

The styles which this poetry assumes are various. It is sometimes lyrical, sometimes simply didactic, at other times dramatic. The form which is selected by the Great Prophet of Nazareth is that of parable or apologue. Of this only a very few instances occur in the writings of the earlier prophets, as of Nathan on the [1]ewe-lamb, and Isaiah on the [2]vine. But, in an acted or symbolical shape, this kind of teaching is of constant recurrence. The rending of the cloak of Samuel and of Ahijah, the concealment of the girdle of Jeremiah, Hananiah's breaking the yoke, are obvious instances; to which in later times we may add the taking of Paul's girdle by Agabus, and many of the miracles of our Lord, which, as has been well pointed out, have almost all of [3]them a didactic purport. There are some of these acted parables which enter so deeply into the life of the Prophet himself, as to show that he was himself entirely identified with his mission. Such is the marriage of Hosea with the adulteress, Isaiah's walking naked and barefoot for three years, the names of Isaiah's children, and the death of Ezekiel's wife, with its effect on himself.

Parables.

All the earlier prophecies were, in the first instance, delivered orally. But, like the effusions of Mahomet, they were no doubt written down soon afterwards by disciples, — such as, in the case of Jeremiah, was Baruch. In some instances, as in the case of Ezekiel, and of isolated examples in the life of [4]Isaiah, they were written down by the Prophet himself. The historical works above alluded to were also probably actually written by the authors themselves. Moses is also said to have *written* the [5]Decalogue in its second form, and the register of the Israelite [6]wanderings. In the New Testament, the utterances of Christ, who in this

Written down.

[1] 2 Sam. xii. 1.
[2] Isa. v. 1.
[3] Dean Trench on the Miracles.
[4] Isa. viii. 1.
[5] Ex. xxxiv. 28.
[6] Num. xxxiii. 2.

respect conformed Himself to the greatest type of the ancient Prophets, were never written by Himself. The only exceptions, if they be exceptions, were that unknown [1] "writing on the ground," and the traditional letter to [2] Abgarus. The utterances of the Apostles were for the most part taken down by scribes, such as Tertius, Silvanus, Tychicus, who thus corresponded to Baruch or Gehazi. The only certain cases in the New Testament where the Prophets were themselves "the sacred penmen" (to employ a modern expression commonly but very inexactly used) are the Epistle to the [3] Galatians, and the Epistles of [4] S. John. Most of their utterances, like those of their Master, were delivered on public occasions in synagogues, or in assemblies of Christians, as those of the older Prophets had been in the Temple courts, or on the mountains of Judæa and Samaria. A peculiar name — by our translators rendered *burden* — is given to the Divine messages delivered by the Prophets on these special occasions. It appears that in the time of [5] Jeremiah this phrase had been so much abused by the Prophets as to have lost its meaning, and Jeremiah therefore refuses to employ it — a striking instance of the duty of discarding even a sacred formula when it has been perverted or exhausted.

Community of Prophetic Writings.

(6.) Different as were the forms of the Prophetic Teaching, there was also an identity in them which largely contributes to the general unity of the Prophetic Order, and of the Bible itself. It is evident that each one looked upon his predecessors' teaching as, in a manner, common property, on which he modelled his own, and from which he adapted and imitated without reserve. It is difficult to say in these cases whether the imitation is direct, or whether each of the similar passages was taken from a common source. On either hypothesis, however, the result is the same as to the community of the

[1] John viii. 6.
[2] Eus. *H. E.* i. 13.
[3] Gal. vi. 11.
[4] 3 John 13.
[5] Jer. xxiii. 30–40.

prophetic literature. Thus [1] Amos refers back to Joel, [2] Hosea to some unknown prophet, [3] Isaiah to Micah, Obadiah and Jonah to each other, or to some unknown [4] prophet.

In the New Testament the same practice still to a certain extent continued. The [5] Second Epistle of S. Peter and S. Jude either borrow from each other, or from a common source. The same argument illustrates, and to some degree explains, the corresponding phenomenon of the three first Gospels. The best key to the difficulties of the Apocalypse is to be found by tracking back to their sources the numerous images and passages which it has taken from the older Prophets. And the principle finds its highest exemplification and sanction in the appropriation of the existing traditions of the Rabbinical schools, as well as the texture of the ancient prophetic writings, by Christ Himself.

These are some of the most striking characteristics of the outward appearance of this vast institution. Even in the dry enumeration of facts, which I have just made, it is impossible not to see its importance to the fortunes of the Jewish Church, and thence to the world at large.

Importance of the Office.

The very name is expressive of its great design. If the derivation of the word, as given above from Gesenius, be correct — the "boiling or bubbling over" of the Divine Fountain of Inspiration within the soul — it is impossible to imagine a phrase more expressive of the truth which it conveys. It is one of those words which conveys a host of imagery and doctrine in itself. In the most signal instances of the sites chosen for the Grecian oracles, we find that they were marked by the rushing forth of a living spring from the recesses of the native rocks of Greece, the Castalian

[1] Amos i. 2; Joel iii. 16.
[2] Hosea vii. 12; viii. 14.
[3] Isa. ii. 2, 4; Micah iv. 1–4.
[4] Comp. also Jer. xlviii. 1, 2; Isa. xv. 1–4; xxiv. 17, 18; Num. xxi. 28; xxiv. 17.
[5] 2 Pet. ii. 1–22; Jude 4–16.

spring at Delphi, the rushing stream of the Hercyna at Lebedea. It was felt that nothing could so well symbolise the Divine voice speaking from the mysterious abysses of the unseen world, as those inarticulate but lively ebullitions of the life-giving element from its unknown mysterious sources. Such a figure was even more significant in the remoter East. The prophetic utterances were indeed the bubbling, teeming, springs of life in those hard primitive rocks, in those dry parched levels. "My heart," to use the phrase of the Psalmist in the [1] original language, "is bursting, bubbling over with "a good matter." That is the very image which would be drawn from the abundant crystal fountains which all along the valley of the Jordan pour forth their full-grown streams, scattering fertility and verdure as they flow over the rough ground. And this is the exact likeness of the springs of Prophetic wisdom and foresight, containing in themselves and their accomplishments, the fulness of the stream which was to roll on and fertilise the ages. Even in the other great class of languages — the Indo-Germanic — the same figure appears, and may fairly be taken to illustrate the Eastern metaphor. *Ghost* — *Geist* — the moving, inspiring [2] spirit, — is the same as the heaving, fermenting *yeast*, the boiling, steaming *geyser*. The Prophetic gift was to the Jewish Church exactly what these combined metaphors imply — the *fermenting*, the *living* element, which made the dead mass move and heave, and cast out far and wide a life beyond itself.

The existence of such an institution in the midst of an Eastern nation, even if we knew nothing of its teaching, must be regarded as a rare guarantee for liberty, for progress, for protection against many a falsehood. Even of the modern Dervishes, with all their drawbacks, it has been said, that

[1] Ps. xlv. 1.

[2] See this well brought out by Professor Müller (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2nd Ed. p. 386).

"without them no man would be safe. They are the chief "people in the East, who keep in the recollection of Oriental "despots that there are ties between Heaven and earth. They "restrain the tyrant in his oppression of his subjects; they "are consulted by courts and by the counsellors of state in "times of emergency; they are, in fact, the great benefactors "of the human race in the [1] East."

Such, in relation to the mere brute power of the kings of Judah and Israel, were the Jewish Prophets,—constant, vigilant, [2]watch-dogs on every kind of abuse and crime, even in the highest ranks, by virtue of that universal, and at the same time elevated position which I have described. But they were much more than this. A great philosophical writer of our own time, [3]Mr. John Stuart Mill, has thus set forth the position of the Hebrew Prophets:—

"The Egyptian hierarchy, the paternal despotism of China, "were very fit instruments for carrying those nations up to "the point of civilisation which they attained. But having "reached that point, they were brought to a permanent halt, "for want of mental liberty and individuality,—requisites of "improvement which the institutions that had carried them "thus far entirely incapacitated them from acquiring, and "as the institutions did not break down and give place to "others, further improvement stopped. In contrast with "these nations, let us consider the example of an opposite "character, afforded by another and a comparatively in-"significant Oriental people—the Jews. They, too, had "an absolute monarchy and a hierarchy. These did for "them what was done for other Oriental races by their in-"stitutions—subdued them to industry and order, and gave "them a national life. But neither their kings nor their "priests ever obtained, as in those other countries, the exclu-

[1] Dr. Wolff's Travels. [2] Isa. lvi. 10. [3] *Representative Government*, 41, 42.

"sive moulding of their character. Their religion gave "existence to an inestimably precious unorganised institution, "the *Order* (if it may be so termed) of Prophets. Under "the protection, generally, though not always effectual, of "their sacred character, the Prophets were a power in the "nation, often more than a match for kings and priests, and "kept up, in that little corner of the earth, the antagonism "of influences which is the only real security for continued "progress. Religion consequently was not there — what it "has been in so many other places — a consecration of all "that was once established, and a barrier against further "improvement. The remark of a distinguished Hebrew, that "the Prophets were in Church and State the equivalent of the "modern liberty of the press, gives a just but not an adequate "conception of the part fulfilled in national and universal "history by this great element of Jewish life; by means of "which, the canon of inspiration never being complete, the "persons most eminent in genius and moral feeling could "not only denounce and reprobate, with the direct authority "of the Almighty, whatever appeared to them deserving of "such treatment, but could give forth better and higher "interpretations of the national religion, which thenceforth "became part of the religion. Accordingly, whoever can "divest himself of the habit of reading the Bible as if it was "one book, which until lately was equally inveterate in "Christians and in unbelievers, sees with admiration the vast "interval between the morality and religion of the Penta-"teuch, or even of the historical books, and the morality "and religion of the Prophecies, a distance as wide as "between these last and the Gospels. Conditions more "favourable to progress could not easily exist; accordingly, "the Jews, instead of being stationary, like other Asiatics, "were, next to the Greeks, the most progressive people of

" antiquity, and, jointly with them, have been the starting-
" point and main propelling agency of modern cultivation."

In what way this grand result was produced, not merely by their office, but by their teaching, and in what that teaching consisted, — how it is that this Prophetic element, pervading as it does the whole literature of the Hebrew nation, that is, the whole Bible, renders it the storehouse of instruction to the clergy and the teachers of all ages, and at the same time the one inestimable Book, dear to all true lovers of human progress and religious freedom, to be studied, understood, and reverenced, through good report and evil, — will be the subject of the concluding discourse.

NOTE TO LECTURE XIX.

In the foregoing Lecture the Biblical enumeration of the Prophets alone has been alluded to. But it may be well to add briefly the enumerations in the Jewish, Mussulman, and Early Christian traditions.

I. In the Jewish Canon the Prophetical Books are thus given: — 1. Joshua. 2. Judges. 3. The Books of Samuel. 4. The Books of Kings. 5. The three Greater Prophets (not Daniel, or Lamentations). 6. The twelve minor Prophets.

In the Rabbinical [1] traditions, there are reckoned 48 Prophets and 7 Prophetesses.

The 48 Prophets: — "1. Abraham. 2. [2] *Isaac.* 3. *Jacob.* 4. Moses. 5. *Aaron.* 6. *Joshua.* 7. *Phinehas.* 8. *Elkanah.* 9. *Eli.* 10. Samuel. 11. Gad. 12. Nathan. 13. David. 14. *Solomon.* 15. Iddo. 16. Micaiah. 17. Obadiah. 18. Ahijah. 19. Jehu. 20. Azariah. 21. Jahaziel (2 Chr. xx. 14). 22. Eleazar. All these were in the days of Jehoshaphat. And in the days of Jeroboam, son of Joash, 23. Hosea. 24. Amos. In the days of Jotham, 25. Micah. In the days of Amaziah, 26. *Amoz* (Isaiah's father). 27. Elijah. 28. Elisha. 29. Jonah. 30. Isaiah. In the days of Manasseh, 31. Joel. 32. Nahum. 33. Habakkuk. In the days of Josiah, 34. Zephaniah. 35. Jeremiah. In the Captivity, 36. Uriah. 37. Ezekiel. 38. Daniel. In the second year of Darius, 39. Baruch. 40. *Neriah.* 41. *Seraiah.* 42. Maaseiah (Jer. li. 59). 43. Haggai. 44. Zechariah. 45. Malachi. 46. *Mordecai.* In this list by some Shemaiah (2 Chr. xi. 2, xii. 15) is substituted for Daniel, and some add, 47. *Hanameel,* and 48. *Shallum* (Jer. xxxii. 7). The 7 Prophetesses: — 1. *Sarah.* 2. Miriam. 3. Deborah. 4. *Hannah.* 5. *Abigail.* 6. Huldah. 7. *Esther.*"

[1] Given, from the *Seder Olam,* by Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T.* 896–901.

[2] Those names which vary from the Biblical enumeration are in italics.

II. The Mussulman authorities [1] reckon from Adam to Mohammed 124,000 Prophets, of whom 40,000 were Gentiles, and 40,000, Israelites; of these, however, only 314 or 315 possess supernatural illumination or "apostleship." Of these again 25 are specially distinguished:—ADAM, *Seth*, *Idris* (Enoch), NOAH, *Saleh* (father of Heber), ABRAHAM, *Ishmael*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Lot*, *Joseph*, *Job*, MOSES, *Aaron*, *Khudr* ([2] the mysterious Immortal), *Shuaib* (Jethro), Jonah, David, *Solomon*, *Lokman* (contemporary of David, author of the Fables), Elijah, Daniel, Zachariah (father of the Baptist), Dsúl Kefr (Ezekiel), Jahia Ben Zachariah (the Baptist), ISA (JESUS), MOHAMMED. The 6 pre-eminent names are of those Prophets who proclaimed a new [3] Revelation. Four of those who united the office of Prophet and Apostle were Greeks,—Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah; 4 Arabians,—Hud, Shuaib, Saleh, and [4] Mohammed.

III. The Ecclesiastical enumeration:—

1. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21):—*Adam* (from his giving names to the animals and to Eve), *Noah* (as preaching repentance), Moses, *Aaron*, Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Abijah, Shemaiah, Jehu, Elijah, Michaiah, Obadiah, Elisha, *Abdadonai*(?), Amos, Isaiah, Jonah, Joel, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Uriah, Habakkuk, Nahum, Daniel, *Misael*, the Angel or Messenger (Malachi).

2. Epiphanius:—1. *Adam*. 2. *Enoch*. 3. *Noah*. 4. Abraham. 5. *Isaac*. 6. *Jacob*. 7. Moses. 8. *Aaron*. 9. *Joshua*. 10. Eldad. 11. Medad. 12. *Job*. 13. Samuel. 14. Nathan. 15. David. 16. Gad. 17. *Jeduthun*. 18. Asaph. 19. Heman. 20. *Ethan*. 21. *Solomon*. 22. Ahijah. 23. Shemaiah. 24. The Man of God, Hoseth. 25. *Eli of Shiloh*. 26. *Joab*. 27. Addo (Iddo). 28. Azariah. 29. *Hanani*. 30. *Jehu*. 31. Micaiah. 32. Elijah. 33. *Oziel*(?). 34. *Eliud*. 35. Joshua (Jehu?), the son of Hananiah. 36. Elisha. 37. *Jonadab*. 38. Zachariah or Azariah. 39. Another Zachariah. 40. Hosea. 41. Joel. 42. Amos. 43. Obadiah. 44. Jonah. 45. Isaiah. 46. Micah. 47. Nahum. 48. Habakkuk. 49. *Obed*. 50. *Abdadon*? 51. Jeremiah. 52. *Baruch*. 53. Zephaniah. 54. Urijah. 55. Ezekiel. 56. Daniel. 57. *Ezra*.

[1] Jelaladdin, 281.
[2] See Lecture VIII.
[3] *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. iv. 14, 22.
[4] Jelaladdin, 280.

58. Haggai. 59. Zachariah. 60. Malachi. 61. Zachariah (father of the Baptist). 62. Symeon. 63. John the Baptist. Lesser Prophets:—64. *Enos.* 65. *Methuselah.* 66. *Lamech.* 67. Balaam. 68. Saul. 69. *Abimelech* or Ahimelech. 70. *Amasai* (1 Chr. xii. 18). 71. *Zadok.* 72. Old Prophet of Bethel. 73. Agabus.

Prophetesses:—1. *Sara.* 2. *Rebekah.* 3. Miriam. 4. Deborah. 5. Huldah. 6. Hannah. 7. Judith. 8. Elizabeth (mother of John). 9. Anna. 10. *Mary.*

In conventional pictures in Eastern churches, Joshua, Gideon, Baruch, David, and Solomon are usually styled *Prophets.*

LECTURE XX.

ON THE NATURE OF THE PROPHETICAL TEACHING.

In the well-known description of the Revelations of the Old Testament by the author of the [1] Epistle to the Hebrews, the essence of these Revelations is summed up in the words, "God spake *by the Prophets*." He had in the words immediately preceding spoken of the various and multiform gradations of Revelation, and he fixes our attention on the special instructors or revealers of the Divine Will, who stood on the highest step of these gradations. These are, in one word, not the historians, geographers, ritualists, poets, of the Jewish Church, — valuable as each may be in their several ways, — but "the Prophets." And again, although it is well known that the only full sense of the word "Inspiration" is that in which [2] alone it is used by the Church of England, and the ancient Church generally, in the far wider sense of the universal mind of the whole Church, and all good in the human heart and intellect; yet there is a deep truth in the clause of the Nicene Creed, which says, "The Holy Ghost spake" (not by bishops or presbyters, or General Councils, or General Assemblies, or even saints, but) "*by the Prophets*." This limitation or concentration of the Divine Inspiration to the

Importance of the Prophetical Inspiration.

[1] Heb. i. 1.

[2] The Collect before the Communion Service. The Collect for the Sunday after Easter. The Prayer for all Conditions of Men. The Veni Creator Spiritus, the 13th Article. These are the only passages in the Anglican formularies in which the word occurs.

Prophetic spirit is in exact accordance with the facts of the case. The Prophets being, as their name both in Greek and Hebrew implies, the most immediate organs of the Will of God, it is in their utterances, if anywhere, that we must expect to find the most direct expression of that Will. However high the sanction given to King or Priest, in the Old Dispensation, they were always to bow before the authority of the Prophet. The Prophetic teaching is, as it were, the essence of the Revelation, sifted from its accidental accompaniments. It pervades, and, by pervading, gives its own vitality to those portions of the Sacred Volume which cannot strictly be called Prophetical. Josephus [1] speaks of the succession of the Prophets, as constituting the main framework and staple of the sacred canon of the Old Testament. What has been beautifully said of the Psalms as compared with the Levitical and sacrificial system is still more true of the Prophets. "As we watch the weaving of "the web, we endeavour to trace through it the more "conspicuous threads. Long time the eye follows the "crimson: it disappears at length; but the golden thread "of sacred *prophecy* stretches to the [2] end." It stretches to the end; for it is the chief outward link between the Old and the New Testament; and, though the New Testament has its own peculiarities, and though the spirit of Prophecy expresses chiefly the spirit of the Old Testament, yet it may also fitly be called the spirit of the whole Bible.

It is the substance of this teaching extending from Moses the First, to John, both in his Apocalypse and Gospel, the Last of the Prophets, that I here propose to set forth; with the view of ascertaining what there was in it which gave to the Jewish people that progressive movement of which I

[1] *Contra Apion* i. 8. This is well put in Oehler's *Treatise on the Old Testament.*

[2] The Rev. H. B. Wilson's *Three Sermons*, p. 6.

spoke in the preceding Lecture,—that elevation and energy, which has given to all the Prophetic writings so firm a hold on the sympathies of the Church and of the world.

The Prophetic teaching may be divided into three parts, according to the three famous words of S. Bernard—*Respice, Aspice, Prospice.* The interpretation of the Divine Will respecting the Past, the Present, and the Future.

The Prophets as Teachers of the Past.

I. Of the Prophets as teachers of the experience of the Past, we know but little. It is true that we have references to many of the books which they thus wrote; the acts of David, by Samuel, Gad, and Nathan; of Solomon and Jeroboam, by Nathan and Iddo; of Rehoboam, by Iddo and Shemaiah. But these unfortunately have all perished. Alas! of all the lost works of antiquity, is there any, heathen or sacred, to be named with the loss of the biography of David by the Prophet Nathan? We can, however, form some notion of these lost books by the fragments of historical writings that are left to us in the Prophetical Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and also by the likelihood that some of the present canonical books were founded upon the more ancient works which they themselves must have tended to supersede. And it is probably not without some ground of this sort, that the Prophetical Books of the Old Testament, in the Jewish Canon, include the Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. From these slight indications of the mission of the Prophets as Historians, we cannot deduce any detailed instruction. But it is important to have at least this proof, that the study of history, so dear to some of us, and by some so lightly thought of, was not deemed beneath the notice of the Prophets of God. And, if we may so far assume the ancient Jewish nomenclature as to embrace the historical books of the Canon just enumerated within the "Prophetical circle," their structure furnishes topics well

worthy of the consideration of the theological student. In that marvellously tessellated workmanship which they present, — in the careful interweaving of ancient documents into a later narrative, — in the editing and re-editing of passages, where the introduction of a more modern name or word betrays the touch of the more recent historian, — we trace a research which may well have occupied many a vacant hour in the prophetic schools of Bethel or Jerusalem, and at the same time a freedom of adaptation, of alteration, of inquiry, which places the authors or editors of these original writings on a level far above that of mere chroniclers or copyists. Such a union of research and freedom gives us on the one hand a view of the office of an inspired or prophetic historian, quite different from that which would degrade him into the lifeless and passive instrument of a power which effaced his individual energy and reflection; and, on the other hand, presents us with something like the model at which an historical student might well aspire even in our more modern age. And if, from the handiwork and composition of these writings, we reach to their substance, we find traces of the same spirit, which will appear more closely as we speak of the Prophetical Office in its two larger aspects. By comparing the treatment of the history of Israel or Judah in the four prophetical Books of Samuel and of Kings, with the treatment of the same subject in the Books of Chronicles, we are at once enabled to form some notion of the true characteristics of the Prophetical office as distinguished from that of the mere chronicler or Levite. But this will best be understood as we proceed.

Of the Present.

II. I pass therefore to the work of the Prophets as interpreters of the Divine Will in regard to the *Present*.

Their Theology.

(1.) First, what was the characteristic of their directly religious teaching which caused the early Fathers to regard them as, in the best sense of the word, "Theologians?"

It consisted of two points. (1.) Their proclamation of the Unity and of the Spirituality of the Divine Nature. They proclaimed the *Unity* of God, and hence the energy with which they attacked the falsehoods and superstitions which endeavoured to take the place of God. This was the negative side of their teaching, and the force with which they urge it, the withering scorn with which [1] Elijah and Isaiah speak of the idols of their time, however venerable, however sacred in the eyes of the worshippers, is a proof that even negative statements of theology may at times be needed, and have at any rate a standing place amongst the Prophetic gifts. The direct object of this negative teaching virtually expired with the immediate call for it under the Old Dispensation. But the positive side of their teaching was the assertion of the *spirituality*, the morality of God, His justice, His goodness, His love. This revelation of the Divine Essence, this manifestation of God in some unusually impressive form, constituted, as we have already seen, and shall see further as we advance, at once the first call and the sustaining force of every Prophetic mission. This continued to the very end, and received its highest development in the Prophets of the New Testament. Then the Prophetic teaching of the moral attributes of God was brought out more strongly than ever. Then [2] Grace and Truth were declared to be the only means of conceiving or approaching to the Divine Essence. Then He who was Himself the Incarnation of that Grace and Truth was enabled to say, as no Prophet before or after could have said, Ye "believe in God, believe also in [3] *Me*." To that crowning point of the Prophetic Theology, the Apostolic Prophets direct our attention so clearly, that no more needs to be said on this subject. The doctrine of the Incarnation of Christ by the last of the Prophets, S. John, is the

The Unity of God.

The Spirituality of God.

[1] 1 Kings xviii. 27; Isa. xliv. 16.
[2] John i. 14, 17.
[3] *Ibid.* xiv. 1.

fitting and necessary close of the glimpse of the moral nature of the Divinity revealed to the first of the Prophets, Moses.

(2.) And now how is this foundation of the Prophetic Teaching carried out into detail? This brings us to the main characteristic of the Prophetic, as distinguished from all other parts of the Old Dispensation. The elevated conception of the Divinity may be said to pervade all parts of the Old Testament, if not in equal proportions, yet at least so distinctly as to be independent of any special office for its enforcement. But in the Prophetical teaching there is something yet more peculiarly its own.

Moral above ceremonial duties.

The one great corruption, to which all Religion is exposed, is its separation from morality. The very strength of the religious motive has a tendency to exclude, or disparage, all other tendencies of the human mind, even the noblest and best. It is against this corruption that the Prophetic Order from first to last constantly protested. Even its mere outward appearance and organisation bore witness to the greatness of the opposite truth, of the inseparable union of morality with religion. Alone of all the high offices of the Jewish Church the Prophets were called by no outward form of consecration, and were selected from no special tribe or family. But the most effective witness to this great doctrine was borne by their actual teaching.

Amidst all their varieties, there is hardly a Prophet, from Samuel downwards, whose life or writings do not contain an assertion of this truth. It is to them as constant a topic, as the most peculiar and favourite doctrine of any eccentric sect or party is in the mouths of the preachers of such a sect or party at the present day, and it is rendered more forcible by the form which it takes of a constant protest against the sacrificial system of the Levitical ritual, which they either, in comparison with the Moral Law, disparage altogether, or

else fix their hearers' attention to the moral and spiritual truth which lay behind it.

Listen to them one after another :—

Samuel.—[1] "To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken "than the fat of rams." *David.*—"Thou desirest not "sacrifice, else would I give it. Thou delightest not in "burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit. "Sacrifice and burnt offering thou didst not [2] desire. Then "said I, Lo, I come, to do thy will, O God." *Hosea.*—[3] "I "desired mercy, and not sacrifice." *Amos.*—[4] "I hate, I "despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your "solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings, "and your meat offerings, I will not accept them, neither will "I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. But let "judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a "mighty stream." *Micah.*—[5] "Shall I come before the Lord "with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the "Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thou-"sands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my trans-"gression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what "doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love "mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" *Isaiah.*— "[6] Your new-moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: "they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. Wash "you, make you clean; cease to do evil; learn to do well. "Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands "of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the "oppressed go free?" *Ezekiel.*—[7] "If a man be just, and do "that which is lawful and right . . . he shall surely live. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die. . . . When the

[1] 1 Sam. xv. 22.
[2] Ps. li. 16, 17; xl. 6–8.
[3] Hosea vi. 6.
[4] Amos v. 21–24.
[5] Micah vi. 6–8.
[6] Isa. i. 14–17; lviii. 6.
[7] Ezek. xviii. 5–9; 20–28.

"wicked man doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall "save his soul alive; he shall surely live and not die."

Mercy and justice, judgement and truth, repentance and goodness—not sacrifice, not fasting, not ablutions—is the burden of the whole Prophetic teaching of the Old Testament. And it is this which distinguishes at once the Prophetical from the Levitical portions even of the historical books. Compare the exaltation of moral duties in the Books of Kings with the exaltation of merely ceremonial duties in the Books of Chronicles, and the difference between the two elements of the Sacred history is at once apparent.

In the New Testament the same doctrine is repeated in terms slightly altered, but still more emphatic. In the words of Him who is our Prophet in this the truest sense of all, I need only refer to the [1] Sermon on the Mount, and to the remarkable fact that His chief warnings are against the ceremonial, the narrow, the religious world of that [2] age. In His deeds, I need only refer to His death—proclaiming as the very central fact and doctrine of the New Religion, that sacrifice, henceforth and for ever, consists not in the [3] blood of bulls and goats, but in the perfect surrender of a perfect Will and Life to the perfect Will of an All Just and All Merciful God. In the Epistles the same Prophetic strain is still carried on by [4] the elevation of the spirit above the letter, of [5] love above all other gifts, of [6] edification above miraculous signs, of [7] faith and good works above the outward distinction of Jews and Gentiles. With these [8] accents on his lips, the Last of the Prophets expired.

It is this assertion of the supremacy of the moral and spiritual above the literal, the ceremonial, and the dogma-

[1] Matt. v.—vii.
[2] *Ibid.* xv. 1–20, xxiii.; Luke xv.
[3] Heb. x. 7.
[4] 2 Cor. iii. 6.
[5] 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2.
[6] *Ibid.* xiv. 5.
[7] Rom. ii. 29; Gal. ii. 5, 20, vi. 15; Tit. ii. 8.
[8] 1 John ii. 3, 4; Jerome, on Gal. vi.

tical elements of religion, which makes the contrast between the Prophets and all other sacred bodies which have existed in Pagan, and, it must even be added, in Christian times. They were religious teachers without the usual faults of religious teachers. They were a religious body, whose only professional spirit was to be free from the usual prejudices, restraints, and crimes by which all other religious professions have been disfigured. They are not without grievous shortcomings; they are not on a level with the full light of the Christian Revelation. But, taken as a whole, the Prophetic order of the Jewish Church remains alone. It stands like one of those vast monuments of ancient days — with ramparts broken, with inscriptions defaced, but stretching from hill to hill, conveying in its long line of arches the rill of living water over deep valley and thirsty plain, far above all the puny modern buildings which have grown up at its feet, and into the midst of which it strides with its massive substructions, its gigantic height, its majestic proportions, unequalled and unrivalled.

Example to the Christian Clergy.

We cannot attain to it. But even whilst we relinquish the hope, even whilst we admire the good Providence of God, which has preserved for us this unapproachable memorial of His purposes in former ages, there is still one calling in the world in which, if any, the Prophetic spirit, the Prophetic mission, ought at least in part to live on, — and that is, the calling of the Christian clergy. We are not like the Jewish Priests, we are not like the Jewish Levites, but we have, God be praised, some faint resemblances to the Jewish Prophets. Like them, we are chosen from no single family or caste; like them, we are called not to merely ritual acts, but to teach and instruct; like them, we are brought up in great [1] institutions which pride themselves on fostering the

[1] See Lecture XVIII.

spirit of the Church in the persons of its Ministers. O glorious profession, if we would see ourselves in this our true Prophetic aspect! We all know what a powerful motive in the human mind is the spirit of a profession, the spirit of the order, the *spirit* (as the French say) of the *body*, to which we belong. O if the spirit of our profession, of our order, of our body, were the spirit, or anything like the spirit, of the ancient Prophets! if with us, truth, charity, justice, fairness to opponents, were a passion, a doctrine, a point of honour, to be upheld, through good report and evil, with the same energy as that with which we uphold our position, our opinions, our interpretations, our partnerships! A distinguished [1]prelate has well said, "It makes all the "difference in the world whether we put the duty of Truth "in the first place, or in the second place." Yes! that is exactly the difference between the spirit of the world and the spirit of the Bible. The spirit of the world asks, *first*, "Is it safe, Is it pious"? *secondly*, "Is it true"? The spirit of the Prophets asks, *first*, "Is it true"? *secondly*, "Is it safe"? The spirit of the world asks, *first*, "Is it prudent"? *secondly*, "Is it right"? The spirit of the Prophets asks, *first*, "Is it right"? *secondly*, "Is it prudent"? It is not that they and we hold different doctrines on these matters, but that we hold them in different proportions. What they put first, we put second; what we put second, they put first. The religious energy which we reserve for objects of temporary and secondary importance, they reserved for objects of eternal and primary importance. When Ambrose closed the doors of the church of Milan against the blood-stained hands of the devout Theodosius, he acted in the spirit of a prophet. When Ken, in spite of his doctrine of the Divine right of Kings, rebuked Charles II. on his death-bed for his long-unrepented vices, those

[1] Archbishop Whately.

who stood by were justly reminded of the ancient Prophets. When Savonarola, at Florence, threw the whole energy of his religious zeal into burning indignation against the sins of the city, high and low, his sermons read more like Hebrew prophecies than modern homilies.

We speak sometimes with disdain of moral essays, as dull, and dry, and lifeless. Dull, and dry, and lifeless they truly are, till the Prophetic spirit breathes into them. But let religious faith and love once find its chief, its proper vent in them, as it did of old in the Jewish Church — let a second Wesley arise who shall do what the Primate of his day wisely but vainly urged as his [1] gravest counsel on the first Wesley,— that is, throw all the ardour of a Wesley into the great unmistakeable doctrines and duties of life as they are laid down by the Prophets of old and by Christ in the Gospels — let *these* be preached with the same fervour as that with which Andrew Melville enforced Presbyterianism, or Laud enforced Episcopacy, or Whitfield Assurance, or Calvin Predestination — then, perchance, we shall understand in some degree what was the propelling energy of the Prophetic order in the Church and Commonwealth of Israel.

Appeal to the consciences of the hearers.

3. This is the most precious, the most supernatural, of all the Prophetic gifts. Let me pass on to the next, which brings out the same characteristic in another and equally peculiar aspect. The Prophets not merely laid down these general principles of theology and practice, but were the direct oracles and counsellors of their countrymen in action; and for this was required the Prophetic insight into the human heart, which enabled them to address themselves not merely to general circumstances, but to the special emergencies of each particular case. Often they were consulted even on trifling matters, or on stated occasions. So Saul wished to

[1] See Wesley's Life, i. 222.

ask Samuel after his father: "When men went to inquire of God, then they spake, Come, let us go to the [1] Seer." So the Shunamite went at [2] new moons or Sabbaths, to consult the man of God on Carmel. But more usually they addressed themselves spontaneously to the persons or the circumstances which most needed encouragement or warning. Suddenly, whenever their interference was called for, they appeared, to encourage or to threaten; Elijah, before Ahab, like the ghost of the murdered Naboth on the vineyard of Jezreel; Isaiah, before Ahaz at the Fuller's Gate, before Hezekiah, as he lay panic-struck in the palace; Jeremiah, before Zedekiah; John, before Herod; the Greatest of all, before the Pharisees in the Temple. Whatever public or private calamity had occurred, was seized by them to move the national or individual conscience. Thus Elijah spoke, on occasion of the drought; Joel, on occasion of the swarm of locusts; Amos, on occasion of the earthquake. Thus, in the highest degree, our Lord, as has been often observed, drew His parables from the scenes immediately around Him. What the ear received slowly, was assisted by the eye. What the abstract doctrine failed to effect, was produced by its impersonation in the living forms of nature, in the domestic incidents of human intercourse. The Apostles, in this respect, by adopting the written mode of communication, are somewhat more removed from personal contact with those whom they taught than were the older Prophets. But S. Paul makes his personal presence so felt in all that he writes, fastens all his remarks so closely on existing circumstances, as to render his Epistles a means, as it were, of reproducing himself. He almost always conceives himself [3] "present with them in spirit," as speaking to his reader [4] "face to face." Every sentence is full of himself, of his readers, of

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 9.
[2] 2 Kings iv. 23.
[3] 1 Cor. v. 3, 4.
[4] 2 Cor. xiii. 2.

his circumstances, of theirs. And in accordance with this is his description of the effect of Christian prophesying. "If "all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or "one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of [1] all." That is, one prophet after another shall take up the strain, and each shall reveal to him some fault which he knew not before. One after another shall ask questions which shall reveal to him his inmost self, and sit as judge on his inmost thoughts, "and thus" (the Apostle continues) "the *secrets* of "his *heart* are made *manifest*, and so falling down on his "face" (awe-struck) "he will worship God, and report that "God is *in you of a truth*."

This is the true definition by one of the mightiest Prophets, of what true Prophesying is — what it is in its effects, and why it is an evidence of a Real, or Divine Presence wherever it is found. It is this close connection with the thoughts of men, this appeal to their hearts and consciences, this reasoning together with every one of us, which, on the one hand, makes the interpretation of Scripture, especially of the Prophetic Scriptures, so dependent on our knowledge of the characters of those to whom each part is addressed, which, on the other hand, makes each portion bear its own lesson to each individual soul. "Thou art the [2] man." So in the fulness of the Prophetic spirit Nathan spoke to David, and so in a hundred voices God through that goodly company of Prophets still speaks to us, and "convinces us" of our sin and of His Presence.

And has this Prophetic gift altogether passed away from our reach? Not altogether. That divine intuition, that sudden insight into the hearts of men, is, indeed, no longer ours, or ours only in a very limited sense. Still it fixes for us the standard at which all preachers and teachers should

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25. [2] 2 Sam. xii. 7.

aim. Not our thoughts, but the thoughts of our hearers, is what we have to explain to ourselves and to them. Not in *our* language, but in theirs, must we speak if we mean to make ourselves understood by them. By talking with the humblest of the poor in the parishes where our lot as pastors is cast, we shall gain the best materials — materials how rich and how varied and how just — for our future sermons. By addressing ourselves, not to any imaginary congregation, or to any abstract and distant circumstances, but to the actual needs which we know, in the hearts of our neighbours and ourselves, we shall rouse the sleeper, and startle the sluggard, and convince the unbelievers, and enlighten the unlearned. So the great Athenian teacher, — the nearest approach to a Jewish or Christian Prophet that the Gentile world ever produced, — so Socrates worked his way into the minds of the Grecian, and so of the European world. "To him," as has been well said by his modern [1] biographer, "the precept *know thyself* was the holiest of texts." He applied it to himself, he applied it to others, and the result was the birth of all philosophy. But not less is it the basis of all true prophesying, of all good preaching, of all sound preparation for the pastoral office.

Relations to their Country.

4. Another characteristic of the teaching of the Prophets to be briefly touched upon is to be found in their relation not to individuals, but to the state. At one time they were actually the leaders of the nation, as in the case of Moses, Deborah, Samuel, David; in earlier times their function in this respect was chiefly to maintain the national spirit by appeals to the Divine help, and to the past recollections of their history. This function became more complex as the Israelitish affairs became more entangled with those of other nations. But still, throughout, three salient points

[1] Grote's *History of Greece*, viii. 602.

stand out. The first is, that, universal as their doctrine was, and far above any local restraints as it soared, they were thoroughly absorbed in devotion to their country. To say that they were patriots, that they were good citizens, is a very imperfect representation of this side of the Prophetic character. They were *one* with it, they were representatives of it; they mourned, they rejoiced with it, and for it, and through it. Often we cannot distinguish [1] between the Prophet and the people for whom he speaks. Of that uneasy hostility to the national mind, which has sometimes marked even the noblest of disappointed politicians and of disaffected churchmen, there is hardly any trace in the Hebrew Prophet. And although with the changed relations of the Jewish Commonwealth, the New Testament Prophets could no longer hold the same position, yet even then the national feeling is not extinct. Christ Himself wept over His [2] country. His Prophecy over [3] Jerusalem is a direct continuation of the strain of the older Prophets. The same may be said of St. Paul's passionate allusions to his love for the [4] Jewish people in the Epistle to the Romans, which are almost identical with those of [5] Moses. I will not go further into the enlargement of this feeling, as it followed the expansion of the Jewish into the Christian Church. It is enough that our attention should be called to this example for the teachers of every age. Public spirit, devotion to a public cause, indignation at a public wrong, enthusiasm in the national welfare,— this was not below the loftiest of the ancient Prophets; it surely is still within the reach of the humblest of Christian teachers.

Patriotism.

Again, they laboured to maintain, and did to a considerable degree maintain, in spite of the divergence of tribes,

[1] See especially Isa. xl.—liv.; Lamentations iii. 1-66.
[2] Luke xix. 41.
[3] Matt. xxiv.
[4] Rom. ix. 3, x. 1, xi. 1.
[5] Ex. xxxii. 32.

and disruption of the monarchy, the state of national unity. The speech of Oded reproaching the northern kings for the sale of the prisoners of the south is a sample of the whole prophetic spirit. "Now ye purpose to keep under the chil- "dren of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen and bondwomen "unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, sins "against the Lord your [1] God?" To balance the faults of one part of the nation against the other in equal scales, was their difficult but constant [2] duty. To look forward to the time when Judah should no more vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim envy [3] Judah, was one of their brightest hopes. If at times, they increased the bitterness of the division, yet on the whole their aim was union, founded on a sense of their common origin and worship, overpowering the sense of their separation and alienation. Unity.

And thirdly, and as a consequence of this, we are struck by the variety, the moderation of the Prophetical teaching, changing with the events of their time.

It is instructive to see how at different epochs different evils attracted their attention; how the same institutions, which at one time seemed good, at another seemed fraught with evil. Contrast Isaiah's denunciation of the hierarchy with Malachi's support of [4] them. Contrast [5] Isaiah's confidence against Assyria with Jeremiah's despair before Chaldæa. There is no one Shibboleth handed down through the whole series. Only the simple faith in a few great moral and religious principles remains, the rest is constantly changing. Only the poor are constantly protected against the rich; only the weaker side is always regarded with the tender compassion which belongs especially to Him to whom all the Prophets bare witness. To the [6] poor, to the oppressed, Simplicity of principle and variety of application.

[1] 2 Chron. xxviii. 10.
[2] Ezek. xvi.
[3] Isa. xi. 13.
[4] Isa. i. 10; Malachi i. 8 (See Arnold's *Life*, i. 259).
[5] Isa. xxxvii. 6; Jer. xxxvii. 8.
[6] Isa. iii. 14, v. 8, xxxii. 5; Jer. v. 5, xxii. 13; Amos vi. 3; James v. 1.

to the neglected, the Prophet of old was and is still the faithful friend. To the selfish, the luxurious, the insolent, the idle, the frivolous, the Prophet was and is still an implacable enemy.

It is this aspect which has most forcibly brought out the well-known likeness of the Prophets both to ancient orators and modern [1] statesmen. The often quoted lines of [2] Milton best express both the resemblance and the difference:—

> "Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
> The top of eloquence; statists indeed,
> And lovers of their country, as may seem;
> But herein to our Prophets far beneath,
> As men divinely taught, and better teaching
> The solid rules of civil government,
> In their majestic, unaffected style,
> Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
> In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
> What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,
> What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
> These only with our law best form a king."

Independence.

5. One point yet remains in connection with their teaching—and that is their absolute independence. Most of them were in opposition to the prevailing opinion of their countrymen for the time being. Some of them were persecuted, some of them were in favour with God and man alike. But in all, there was the same Divine Prophetic spirit—of elevation above the passions, and prejudices, and distractions of common life. "Be not afraid of [3] them; be not afraid of "their faces; be not afraid of their words. Speak my "words unto them, whether they will hear, or whether they

See Arnold's Letters on this subject, Nov. 1830 (*Life and Corresp.* i. 234, 235).

[1] Comp. *Hebrew Politics in the time of Sennacherib and Sargon*, by Sir E. Strachey; also *The Prophets of the Old Testament*; in *Tracts for Priests and People*, No. 8.

[2] *Parad. Reg.* iv. 353.

[3] Ezek. ii. 6, 7; iii. 8, 9.

"will forbear." "I have made thy face strong against their "faces, and thy forehead strong against their foreheads: as "an adamant harder than flint I have made thy forehead; "fear them not, neither be dismayed." This is the position of all the Prophets, in a greater or less degree — it is the position, in the very highest sense of all, of Him whose chief outward characteristic it was that He stood high above all the influences of His age, and was the Rock against which they dashed in vain, and on which they were ground to powder. This element of the Prophetical Office deserves special consideration, because it pervades their whole teaching, and because it is in its lower manifestations within the reach of all. What is it that is thus recommended to us? Not eccentricity, not singularity, not useless opposition to the existing framework of the world, or the Church in which we find ourselves. Not this — which is of no use to anyone — but this which is needed by everyone of us, a fixed resolution to hold our own against chance and accident, against popular clamour and popular favour, against the opinions, the conversation, of the circle in which we live: a silent look of disapproval, a single word of cheering approval — an even course, which turns not to the right hand or to the left, unless with our own full conviction — a calm, cheerful, hopeful endeavour to do the work that has been given us to do, whether we succeed or whether we fail.

And for this Prophetic independence, what is, what was, the Prophetic ground and guarantee? There were two. One was that of which I will proceed to speak presently — that which has almost changed the meaning of the name of the Prophets — their constant looking forward to the Future. The other was that they felt themselves standing on a rock that was higher and stronger than they — the support and the presence of God. It was this which made their independent elevation itself a Prophecy, because it spoke of a

Power behind them, unseen, yet manifesting itself through them in that one quality which even the world cannot fail at last to recognize. Give us a man, young or old, high or low, on whom we know that we can thoroughly depend,—who will stand firm when others fail — the friend faithful and true, the adviser honest and fearless, the adversary just and chivalrous; in such an one there is a fragment of the Rock of Ages — a sign that there has been a Prophet amongst us.

The consciousness of the *presence of God.* In the Mussulman or the Hindoo this makes itself felt in the entire abstraction of the mind from all outward things. In the fanatic, of whatever religion, it makes itself felt in the disregard of all the common rules of human morality. In the Hebrew Prophet it makes itself felt in the indifference to human praise or blame, in the unswerving fidelity to the voice of duty and of conscience, in the courage to say what he knew to be true, and to do what he knew to be right. This in the Hebrew Prophet — this in the Christian man — is the best sign of the near vision of Almighty God; it is the best sign of the Real Presence of Jesus Christ, the Faithful and True, the Holy and the Just, the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God.

The teaching of the Future.

III. This brings us to the Prophetic teaching of the Future. It is well known that in the popular and modern use of the word since the seventeenth century, by a "Prophet" is meant almost exclusively one who predicts or foretells; and to have asserted the contrary has even been thought heretical. We have already seen that this assumption is itself a grave [1] error. It is wholly unauthorized, either by the Bible or by our own

[1] See Lecture XIX. "It is simply "a mistake to regard prediction as "synonymous with prophecy, or even "as the chief portion of a prophet's "duties. Whether the language be "Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, the ancient "words for prophecy all refer to a "state of mind, an emotion, an in-"fluence, and not to prescience." (Mr. Payne Smith's *Messianic Interpretation of Isaiah*, Introd. p. xxx.)

Church. It has drawn off the attention from the fundamental idea of the Prophetical office to a subordinate part. It has caused us to seek the evidence of Prophecy in those portions of it which are least convincing, rather than in those which are most convincing — in those parts which it has most in common with other systems, rather than in those parts which distinguish it from all other systems.

But this error, resting as it does on an etymological mistake, could never have obtained so wide a diffusion, without some ground in fact; and this ground is to be found in the vast relation of the Prophetic office to the Future, which I shall now attempt to draw forth — dwelling, as before, on the general spirit of the institution.

Prospective and predictive tendencies.

It is, then, undoubtedly true that the Prophets of the Old Dispensation did in a marked and especial manner look forward to the Future. It was this which gave to the whole Jewish nation an upward, forward, progressive character, such as no Asiatic, no ancient, I may almost say, no other nation has ever had in the same degree. Representing as they did the whole people, they shared and they personated the general spirit of tenacious trust and hope that distinguishes the people itself. Their warnings, their consolations, their precepts, when relating to the past and the present, are clothed in imagery drawn from the future. The very form of the Hebrew verb, in which one tense is used both for the past and the future, lends itself to this mode of speech. They were conceived as [1] shepherds seated on the top of one of the hills of Judæa, seeing far over the heads of their flocks, and guiding them accordingly; or as watchmen standing on some lofty tower, with a wider horizon within their view than that of ordinary men.

[1] Isa. lvi. 10, 11.

"Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the [1]night?" was the question addressed to Isaiah by an anxious world below. "I will stand upon my watch," is the expression of [2]Habakkuk, "and set me upon the tower, "and will watch to see what He will say unto me. Though "the vision tarry, wait for it: it will surely come; it will "not tarry." Their practical and religious exhortations were, it is true, conveyed with a force which needed no further attestation. Of all of them, in a certain sense, it might be said as of the Greatest of all, that they spoke "as one having authority and not as the scribes." Still there are special signs of authority besides, and of these, one of the chief, from first to last, was their "*speaking* "*things to* [3]*come*." And this token of Divinity extends (and here again I speak quite irrespectively of any special fulfilments of special predictions) to the whole Prophetic order, in Old and New Testament alike. There is nothing which to any reflecting mind is more signal a proof of the Bible being really the guiding book of the world's history, than its anticipations, predictions, insight, into the wants of men far beyond the age in which it was written. That modern element which we find in it,—so like our own times, so unlike the ancient framework of its natural form; that Gentile, European, turn of thought,—so unlike the Asiatic language and scenery which was its cradle; that enforcement of principles and duties, which for years and centuries lay almost unperceived, because hardly ever understood in its sacred pages; but which we now see to be in accordance with the

[1] Isa. xxi. 11.

[2] Hab. ii. 1, 3.

[3] It is observable that although the power of prediction is never made the test of a true prophet (some of the greatest of them, Samuel, for example, Elijah and John the Baptist, having uttered either no prediction or only such as were very subordinate), the failure of a prediction is in one remarkable passage made the test of a false prophet (Deut. xviii. 22).

utmost requirements of philosophy and civilization; those principles of toleration, chivalry, discrimination, proportion, which even now are not appreciated as they ought to be, and which only can be fully realized in ages yet to come; these are the unmistakeable predictions of the Prophetic spirit of the Bible, the pledges of its inexhaustible resources.

Thus much for the general aspect of the Prophetical office as it looked to the Future. Its more special aspects may be considered under three heads.

Political predictions.

(1.) First, their contemplation and prediction of the political events of their own and the surrounding nations. It is this which brings them most nearly into comparison with the seers of other ages and other races. Every one knows instances, both in ancient and modern times, of predictions which have been uttered and fulfilled in regard to events of this kind. Sometimes such predictions have been the result of political foresight. "To have made predictions "which have been often verified by the event, seldom "or "never falsified by it," has been suggested by one well competent to [1]judge, as an ordinary sign of statesmanship in modern times. "To see events in their beginnings, "to discern their purport and tendencies from the first, to "forewarn his countrymen accordingly," was the foremost duty of an ancient orator, as described by Demosthenes.[2] Many instances will occur to students of history. Even within our own memory the great catastrophe of the disruption of the United States of America was foretold, even with the exact [3]date, several years beforehand. Sometimes there has been an anticipation of some future epoch in the pregnant sayings of eminent philosophers or poets; as for

[1] Mill's *Representative Government*, 224.

[2] De Corona, 73. See Sir E. Strachey *on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, p. 2, 29.

[3] Spence *on the American Union*, p. 7.

example, the intimation of the discovery of America by Seneca; or of Shakspere by Plato, or the Reformation by Dante. Sometimes the same result has been produced by a power of divination, granted, in some inexplicable manner, to ordinary men. Of such a kind were many of the ancient oracles, the fulfilment of which, according to [1] Cicero, could not be denied without a perversion of all history. Such was the foreshadowing of the twelve centuries of Roman dominion by the legend of the apparition of the twelve vultures to [2] Romulus, and which was so [3] understood four hundred years before its actual accomplishment. Such, but with less certainty, was the traditional prediction of the conquest of Constantinople by the Mussulmans; the alleged predictions by Archbishop Malachi, whether composed in the eleventh or the sixteenth century, of the series of Popes down to the present time; not to speak of the well-known instances which are recorded both in French and English [4] history. But there are several points which at once place the Prophetic predictions on a different level from any of these. It is not that they are more exact in particulars of time and place; none can be more so than that of the twelve centuries of the Roman Empire; and our Lord Himself has excluded the precise knowledge of times and seasons from the widest and highest range of the prophetic vision. The difference rather lies in their close connection with the moral and spiritual character of the Prophetic mission, and their freedom (for the most part) from any of those fantastic and arbitrary accompaniments by which so many secular predictions are distinguished. They are almost always founded on the denuncia-

[1] *De Divinatione*, i. 19.

[2] Gibbon, ch. 35.

[3] *Ibid.* ch. 52.

[4] For these, and many other instances of more or less value, see a collection in *Das Buch der Wahr- und Weis-Sagungen*, published at Ratisbon, 1850, or in the smaller French work, *Le Livre de Toutes les Prophéties et Prédictions*, Paris, 1849.

tions of moral evil, or the exaltation of moral good, not on the mere localities or cities concerned. The nations whose doom is pronounced, thus become representatives of moral principles and examples to all ages alike. Israel, Jerusalem, Egypt, Babylon, [1]Tyre, are personifications of states or principles still existing, and thus the predictions concerning them have, as Lord Bacon says, constantly germinant fulfilments. The secular events which are thus predicted, are (with a few possible [2]exceptions) within the horizon of the Prophet's age, and are thus capable of being turned to the practical edification of the Prophet's own age and country. As in the vision of Pisgah, the background is suggested by the foreground. No object is introduced which a contemporary could fail to appreciate and understand in outline, although its remoter and fuller meaning might be reserved for a far distant future. These predictions are also, in several striking instances, made dependent on the moral condition of those to whom they are addressed, and are thus divested of the appearance of blind caprice or arbitrary fate, in which the literal predictions of both ancient and modern divination so much delight. "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown." No denunciation is more absolute in its terms than this; and of none is the frustration more complete. The true Prophetic lesson of the Book of Jonah is, that there was a principle in the moral government of God, more sacred and more peremptory even than the accomplishment of the most cherished prediction. "God saw their works, that they "turned from their evil way; and [3]God repented of the evil, "that He had said that He would do unto them; and He did

[1] This is well brought out in Arnold's *Sermons on Prophecy*.

[2] The cases referred to are such as need not be here discussed. They are either confessedly exceptional, or else admit (on quite independent grounds) of another explanation. Other occasions will occur for treating them in detail.

[3] Jonah iii. 10.

"it not." What here appears in a single case is laid down as a universal rule by the Prophet Jeremiah. "At what instant "I shall speak concerning a nation . . . to destroy it; if "that nation . . . turn from their evil, I will repent of the "evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I "shall speak concerning a nation . . . to build and to plant "it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I "will repent of the [1]good wherewith I said I would benefit "them."

With these limitations, it is acknowledged by all students of the subject, that the Hebrew prophets made predictions concerning the fortunes of their own and other countries which were unquestionably [2]fulfilled. There can be no reasonable doubt, for example, that Amos foretold the captivity and return of Israel; and Micah the fall of Samaria; and Ezekiel the fall of Jerusalem; and Isaiah the fall of Tyre; and Jeremiah the limits of the Captivity. But, even if no such special cases could be proved, the grandeur of the position which the Prophets occupy in this respect is one which it needs no attestation of any particular prediction to enhance, and which no failure of any particular prediction can impair. From those lofty watch-towers of Divine speculation, from that moral and spiritual height which raised them far above the rest of the ancient world, they saw the rise and fall of other nations, long before it was visible to those nations themselves. "They were the first in all "antiquity," it has been well [3]said, "to perceive that the "old East was dead; they celebrated its obsequies, in ad- "vance of the dissolution which they saw to be inevitable." They were, as [4]Dean Milman has finely expressed it, the "great Tragic Chorus of the awful drama that was unfolding

[1] Jer. xviii. 7–9.
[2] See Ewald (1st Ed.), iii. 303.
[3] Quinet, *Génie des Religions*, p. 372.
[4] *History of the Jews*, i. 298.

"itself in the Eastern world. As each independent tribe or "monarchy was swallowed up in the universal empire of "Assyria, the seers of Judah watched the progress of the "invader, and uttered their sublime funeral anthems over "the greatness and prosperity of Moab and Ammon, Da-"mascus and Tyre." And in those funeral laments and wide-reaching predictions we trace a foretaste of that universal sympathy with nations outside the chosen circle,—of that belief in an all-embracing Providence,—which has now become part of the belief of the highest intelligence of the world. There may be many innocent questions about the date, or about the interpretation of the Book of Daniel, and of the Apocalypse. But there can be no doubt that they contain the first germs of the great idea of the succession of ages, of the continuous growth of empires and races under a law of Divine Providence, the first sketch of the Education of the world, and the first outline of the Philosophy of [1] History.

Messianic Predictions.

(2.) I pass to the second grand example of the predictive spirit of the Prophets. It was the distinguishing mark of the Jewish people that their golden age was not in the past, but in the future; that their greatest Hero (as they deemed Him to be) was not their founder, but their founder's latest descendant. Their traditions, their fancies, their glories, gathered round the head not of a chief, or warrior, or sage that had been, but of a King, a Deliverer, a Prophet who was to come. Of this singular expectation the Prophets were, if not the chief authors, at least the chief exponents. Sometimes He is named, sometimes He is unnamed; sometimes He is almost identified with some actual Prince of the coming or the present generation, sometimes He recedes into the distant [2] ages. But again and again, at least in the later Prophetic writings, the vista is closed by His person, His character, His reign. And almost everywhere the Prophetic spirit, in the

[1] See Lücke, On *S. John*, iv. 154.

[2] See Ewald, iii. 428, 9.

delineation of His coming, remains true to itself. He is to be a King, a Conqueror, yet not by the common weapons of earthly warfare, but by those only weapons which the Prophetic order recognized — by [1] justice, mercy, truth, and goodness, — by suffering, by endurance, by identification of Himself with the joys, the sufferings of His nation, by opening a wider sympathy to the whole human race than had ever been opened before. That this expectation, however explained, existed in a greater or less degree amongst the Prophets, is not doubted by any theologians of any school whatever. It is no matter of controversy. It is a simple and universally recognized fact, that, filled with these Prophetic images, the whole Jewish nation — nay, at last the whole Eastern world — did look forward with longing expectation to the coming of this future Conqueror. Was this unparalleled expectation realized? And here again I speak only of facts which are acknowledged by Germans and Frenchmen, no less than by Englishmen, by critics and by sceptics, even more fully than by theologians and ecclesiastics. There did arise out of this nation a Character by universal consent as unparalleled as the expectation which had preceded Him. Jesus of Nazareth was, on the most superficial no less than on the deepest view we take of His coming, the greatest name, the most extraordinary power, that has ever crossed the stage of History. And this greatness consisted not in outward power, but precisely in those qualities in which from first to last the Prophetic order had laid the utmost stress — justice and love, goodness and truth.

I push this argument no further. Its force is weakened the moment we introduce into it any controverted detail. The fact which arrests our attention is, that side by side with this great expectation, appears the great climax to which the whole History leads up. It is a proof, if anything can be a

[1] Ps. xlv. 4, lxxii. 11–14; Isa. xl. 1–9, liii. 1–9; Jer. xxxii. 15, 16.

proof, of a unity of design, in the education of the Jews, in the history of the world. It is a proof that the events of the Christian Dispensation were planted on the very centre of human hopes and fears. It is a proof that the noblest hopes and aspirations that were ever breathed, were not disappointed; and that when "God spake by the Prophets" of the coming Christ, He spake of that which in His own good time He was certain to bring to pass.

(3.) There is one further class of predictions in which the Prophetic writings abound, and which still more directly connects itself with their general spirit, and of which the predictions I have already noticed are only a part — the Future, as a ground of consolation to the Church, to individuals, to the human race. It is this which gives to the Bible at large that hopeful, victorious, triumphant character, which distinguishes it from the morose, querulous, narrow, desponding spirit of so much false religion, ancient and modern. *The Power of the Future.*—This is the fulcrum by which they kept up the hopes of their country, and on its support we can rest as well as they.

Predictions of the Church.

The Future of the Church.—I need not repeat those glorious predictions which are familiar to all. But their spirit is applicable now as well as then. Although, in this sense, we prophesy and predict, as it were at second-hand from them, yet our anticipations are so much the more certain, as they are justified and confirmed by the experience, which the Prophets had not, of two thousand years ago. We may be depressed by this or that failure of good projects, of lofty aspirations. But the Prophets and the Bible bid us look onward. The world, they tell us, as a whole tends forwards and not backwards. The losses and backslidings of this generation, if so be, will be repaired in the advance of the next. "To one far off Divine event," slowly it may be and uncertainly, but still steadily onwards, "the whole

creation moves." Work on in faith, in hope, in confidence; the future of the Church, the future of each particular society in which our lot is cast, is a solid basis of cheerful perseverance. The very ignorance of the true spirit of the Bible of which we complain, is the best pledge of its boundless resources for the future. The doctrines, the precepts, the institutions, which as yet lie undeveloped, far exceed in richness, in power, those that have been used out, or been fully applied.

Predictions of the Individual.

The Future of the Individual. — Have we ever thought of the immense stress laid by the Prophets on this mighty thought? What is the sentence with which the Church of England opens its morning and evening service, but a Prophecy, a Prediction, of the utmost importance to every human soul? "When the wicked man shall turn away from "his wickedness, and doeth that which is lawful and right, "*he shall save his soul alive.*" So spoke [1] Ezekiel, advancing beyond the limits of the Mosaic law. So spoke no less [2] Isaiah and [3] Micah: "Though your sins be as scarlet, "they shall be as white as snow." "He will turn again; He "will have compassion upon us. He will subdue our iniquities. "Thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea." So spoke, in still more endearing accents, the Prophet of Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself, when He uttered His world-wide invitation, "Him that cometh to me, I will in "no wise cast out." "Her sins which are many are for-"given." "Go and sin no more." The Future is everything to us, the Past is nothing. The turn, the change, the fixing our faces in the right, instead of the wrong direction — this is the difficulty, this is the turning point, this is the crisis of life. But that once done, the Future is clear before us. The despondency of the human heart, the

[1] Ezek. xviii. 27. [2] Isa. i. 18. [3] Micah, vii. 19.

timidity or the austerity of Churches or of sects, may refuse this great Prophetic absolution; may cling to penances and regrets for the past; may shrink from the glad tidings that the good deeds of the Future can blot out the sorrows and the sins of the Past. But the whole Prophetic teaching of the Old and New Testament has staked itself on the issue; it hazards the bold prediction that all will be well when once we have turned; it bids us go courageously forward, in the strength of the Spirit of God, in the power of the life of Christ.

Predictions of a Future Life.

There is yet one more Future,—a *future* which to the Prophets of old was almost shut out, but which it is the glory of the Prophets of the New Dispensation to have predicted to us with unshaken certainty,—the Future life. In this respect, the predictions of the latest of the Prophets far transcend those which went before. The heathen philosophers were content with guesses on the immortal future of the soul. The elder Hebrew Prophets were content, for the most part, with the consciousness of the Divine support in this life and through the terrors of death, but did not venture to look further. But the Christian Prophets, gathering up the last hopes of the Jewish Church into the first hopes of the Christian Church, throw themselves boldly on the undiscovered world beyond the grave, and foretell that there the wishes and fears of this world would find their true accomplishment. To this Prediction so confident, yet so strange at the time, the intelligence no less than the devotion of mankind has in the course of ages come round. Powerful minds, which have rejected much beside in the teaching of the Bible, have claimed as their own this last expectation of the simple Prophetic school, which founded its hopes on the events of that first Easter day, that first day of the week, "when life and immortality were brought to light." And it is a prediction which shares the character of all the other

truly Prophetic utterances; in that it directly bears on the present state of being. Even without dwelling on the special doctrine of judgement and retribution, the mere fact of the stress laid by the Prophets on the certainty of the Future is full of instruction, hardly perhaps enough borne in mind. Look forwards, we sometimes say, a few days or a few months, and how differently will all things seem. Yes; but look forwards a few more years; and how yet more differently will all things seem. From the height of that Future, to which on the wings of the ancient Prophetic belief we can transport ourselves, look back on the present. Think of our troubles, as they will seem when we know their end. Think of those good thoughts and deeds which alone will survive in that unknown world. Think of our controversies, as they will appear, when we shall be forced to sit down at the feast with those whom we have known only as opponents here, but whom we must recognize as companions there. To that Future of Futures which shall fulfill the yearnings of all that the Prophets have desired on earth, it is for us, wherever we are, to look onwards, upwards, and forwards, in the constant expectation of something better than we see or know. Uncertain as to "the day and [1] hour," and as to the manner of fulfilment, this last of all the Predictions still, like those of old, builds itself upon the past and present. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but "we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; "for we shall see Him as He [2] is."

[1] Mark xiii. 32. [2] 1 John iv. 2.

APPENDIX I.

THE TRADITIONAL LOCALITIES OF ABRAHAM'S MIGRATION.

APPENDIX II.

THE CAVE OF MACHPELAH.

APPENDIX III.

THE SAMARITAN PASSOVER.

APPENDIX I.

NOTE A. ON LECTURE I.

TRADITIONAL LOCALITIES OF ABRAHAM'S MIGRATION.

I. *Where was Ur of the Chaldees?*

There are four claimants: —

1. *Ur*, a fortress on the Tigris near Hatra, mentioned only by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxv. 8), apparently the modern Kaleh Sherghat, on the western bank of the Tigris, between the Greater and Lesser[1] Zab. To this no traditional sanctity is attached. The arguments in its favour are (1.), the identity of its ancient name. (2.) The distance from Haran eastwards, which agrees better than that of the other three situations with the indications of the Sacred narrative. For the authorities in its behalf see Chwolson's *Sabier*, i. 313. Kaleh Sherghat.

2. *Warka*, on the present eastern bank of the Euphrates, above the junction with the Tigris. It was formerly identified with Ur by Sir H. Rawlinson, on the grounds (1.) Of Arabic and Talmudic traditions, of which he gives an example from a MS. in his[2] possession. (2.) Of the likeness of its name to *Orchöe*, one of the Grecian forms of Ur. See a good description of it in Loftus's *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 163. Warka.

3. Mugheyr, on the western bank of the Euphrates, close to the confluence of the Two Rivers. It is[3] now identified Mugheyr.

[1] *Journal of Geog. Society*, xi. 7.
[2] *Journal of Asiatic Society*, xii. 481.
[3] *Athenæum*, Jan. 20, 1855, pp. 84–95.

with Ur by Sir H. Rawlinson, on the grounds (1.) Of the name of *Urukh* or *Hur*, found on cylinders in the neighbourhood. (2.) "Of the remains of a Temple of the Moon," whence, perhaps, the name of *Camarina* given to Ur by [1] Eupolemus. (3.) Of the existence of a district called *Ibra*, whence he derives the name of [2] *Hebrew*. To these arguments may be added the apparent identification, by Josephus, of Chaldæa with Babylonia;—"Terah migrated *from Chaldæa* into [3] *Mesopotamia*."

Orfa. 4. *Orfa* or *Urfa*. The place has been sufficiently described in Lecture I. p. 6.

The arguments in favour of its identity with Ur are as follows:—

(1.) It is on the eastern side of the Euphrates, a qualification of Ur required not only by the usual interpretation of the word "Hebrew," but by Josh. xxiv. 3, "*beyond the river*;" whereas Mugheyr now, and Warka probably in ancient [4] times, was on the *western* side.

(2.) The general tenor of the narrative closely connects Ur with Haran and [5] Aram. These were in the north-western portion of Mesopotamia, within reach of Orfa.

(3.) Whatever may be the later meanings of the name *Chasdim* or *Chaldæans*, there can be little doubt that Arpha-Chesed (Arphaxad), must be the Arrapachitis of the [6] north, and that in this connection [7] therefore, the *Chasdim* spoken of must be in the [8] north.

(4.) The local features of Orfa, as above described, are guarantees for its remote antiquity as a city.

(5.) The traditions are at least as strong as those elsewhere, which may have originated in the anxiety of the Jewish

[1] Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17.
[2] See Loftus's *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 131.
[3] *Ant.* i. 6, 5.
[4] Loftus, 131.
[5] Gen. xi. 27, 28, 31; xii. 1–4.
[6] Ptol. *Geog.* vi. 1.
[7] Gen. xi. 10, 11, 28.
[8] See Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 378.

settlement of Babylonia to claim the possession of their ancestor's birthplace, and in the shifting of the name of Chaldæa.

II. *Where was Haran?*

Till within the last year, the identity of the Patriarchal *Haran* with that in the north of Mesopotamia (indicated in Lecture I. p. 8), had never been doubted.

Within the last twelve months, Dr. Beke (in letters to the [1] *Athenæum*), has urged the claims of a small village, called *Hârrân-el-Awamîd*, about four hours' journey east of Damascus, on the western border of the lake into which the Barada and the Awaj empty themselves. His argument, which further requires the identification of Mesopotamia (*Aram-Naharaim*, Aram of the Two Rivers), with the plain of Damascus between the Barada and the Awaj, is based, (1.) on the identity of name, "Haran"; (2.) on the supposed likeness of natural features, wells, &c.; (3.) on the journey of seven days taken by Laban between Haran and Gilead; which, though suitable for a journey from Damascus to Gilead, seems too short a time for a journey of 350 miles from the Euphrates. The first and second arguments prove nothing more for the Haran of Damascus than for that of Mesopotamia. But the last must be allowed to have its weight. No doubt the natural construction of the passage in Gen. xxxi. 23, is (as given in Lecture I. p. 10), that seven days was the usual time consumed in the journey. But in the face of the powerful arguments brought by Mr. Porter, Mr. Ainsworth, and Sir Henry Rawlinson, in favour of the Mesopotamian [2] Haran, this single expression can hardly be thought to turn the scale. The number may be a round number — the start of the journey may be from some intermediate spot — or the dromedaries of Laban may be supposed to have travelled with the speed of "the regular Arab post, which consumes

Haran.

[1] Nov. 23, 1861; Feb. 1, 15; March 1, 29; and May 24, 1862.

[2] *Athenæum*, Nov. 30, Dec. 7, 1861; March 22; April 6, 19; May 24, 1862.

"no more than eight days in crossing the desert from "Damascus to Baghdad, a distance of nearly 500 [1] miles." The only other argument which might be adduced seems to me to be that [2] Josephus, whilst he dwells much on Abraham's stay at Damascus, does not mention Haran. This might confirm the notion that Haran and Damascus were virtually in the same region. But the uniformity of tradition in favour of the Eastern Haran, the absence of any in favour of the Western, the more remarkable from the abundance of other patriarchal and Abrahamic legends in the neighbourhood of Damascus—the difficulty of supposing the "Aram-Naharaim" of the Hebrew text and the "Mesopotamia" of the LXX. to be the country of the Barada and Awaj, and "the river" ("the *Nahar*") of Gen. xxxi. 21, to have other than its usual signification of the Euphrates — are, it appears to me, almost decisive in favour of the old interpretation.

I subjoin a narrative of an excursion taken by the Rev. S. Robson (the excellent Protestant Missionary at Damascus), to Hârrân-el-Awamîd, in the spring of this year, at my request, to examine the columns which remain on the spot, and which have given it its present name.

"Last month, Mr. Sandwith, Mr. Crawford, and I went to "Hârrân-el-Awamîd. We started at five o'clock in the "morning, and rode there at a walking pace in four hours "and a quarter. We returned to the city in the evening.

"We could not form an opinion as to the kind or the "form of the building, to which the three columns now "standing had belonged. In different parts of the village "there are pieces of columns of the same black stone, but "of small diameters, and there are large dressed stones of "the same material, which evidently were in ancient build-"ings. The first house, in the west of the village, is the "Mosque. Attached to it is a large yard, in which is a well,

[1] *Athenæum*, April 19, p. 530. [2] *Ant.* i. 7, 2.

"with two or three stone troughs, used for ablutions. The "well and the troughs are in a small building, and here "is the Greek inscription. It is on a piece of a column "five or six feet long, and fourteen or fifteen inches in "diameter. It lies horizontally, in the angle between the "wall and the ground — one side a little in the wall, and "another a little in the ground. The beginnings of the "lines of the inscription are visible, but the ends are on "the lower side of the stone in the ground. Apparently "there had been four lines. The whole is greatly worn and "defaced, but several letters in the first line, and two in the "second, are legible as below: —

AAUA (CONSII . . . .
. A . O . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

"The mark (between A and C in the first line) I do "not understand, and the II was doubtful to us. We could "not guess at a single letter in the third and fourth lines. "The inscription had not been carefully cut; the letters were "not well formed, nor of the same size, and the lines were "not quite straight.

"The people showed great unwillingness to have the stone "moved. The inscription is so much defaced, that we could "not read even the first line as far as it is exposed, and it "seemed most likely that, if the whole were uncovered, "we would find hardly another letter legible. I confess also "that I doubted much whether the inscription would prove "of any consequence if we had the whole of it. The "result was that we gave up our design of moving the stone. "The water in the well stood only five or six feet below the "surface of the ground, and the supply is evidently abundant. "It is used chiefly for ablutions and for drinking, by the "people when in the Mosque, but never for watering cattle.

"It tasted to us slightly brackish. There is another well "outside the yard of the Mosque. The water in it was only "two or three feet below the surface of the ground, but it is "stagnant, and is never used now for any purpose. There "are no wells in or around the village except these two.

"The whole region is remarkably level, and is well culti- "vated. There were very large fields of wheat all around. I "do not know that any land near the village is now used only "for pasture. There is abundance of water for irrigation and "other purposes. The cattle drink from ponds, of which there "are several near the village. Water for drinking and cook- "ing is taken from what the people call 'the river,' an arti- "ficial stream constructed in the mode described in Porter's "*Five Years in Damascus.* The Barada is distant more "than half an hour to the north, and the lakes some two "hours to the east. Probably the artificial river did not exist "in the time of Rebekah, but the water, now abundant on "or near the surface of the ground, was perhaps even more "so then. But the Harran near Orfah in Mesopotamia has "also, it is said, an abundant supply of water from several "small streams near it.

"Is it in the least probable that the Greek inscription could "throw any light on the question about this place? At most "it could only give an ancient tradition, and if such a tra- "dition ever existed, how have all traces of it disappeared "from books and from among the people? Do not the tra- "ditions of Jews, Moslems, and Christians point to one place "in the region between the Euphrates and Tigris still called "'Mesopotamia' ('between the rivers,' *bein-en-naharein*) "in Arabic, as it appears to have been called in Hebrew.

"The name *Hârrân* has not a form usual in Arabic, "and native scholars tell me the name is not Arabic. "*Hārrān*, the Arabic name of the town beyond the

"Euphrates, has an Arabic form as if from *harar*, heat, and "may mean a hot or burned place."

For the whole history of the Mesopotamian Haran, see the learned chapter in Chwolson's *Sabier*, Book I. ch. x.—*Hârran und die Hârranier.*

3. The *Place of Abraham*, at Birzeh near Damascus.

"The name of Abraham is still famous at Damascus, Birzeh. "and there is shown a village named from him called "'the habitation of Abraham'" (ὄικησις Ἀβραμοῦ). So [1] Josephus concludes a quotation from the lost work of Nicolaus of Damascus, whether in his own words, or those of Nicolaus, does not appear. Mr. Porter [2] first called attention to this passage in connection with the fact that "in the vil- "lage of Birzeh, one hour north of Damascus, there is a "chapel known by the name of the Patriarch, *Mesjid* "*Ibrahim*, held in high veneration by the Moslems. Pilgrim- "ages are made to it at a certain season every year," at which takes place a miraculous procession — like that of the Doseh at Cairo — of a Dervish riding over the bodies of his followers. He adds that Ibn 'Asâker (in his history of Damascus, written before the sixth century of the Hejra) gives a long account of it, and says, that "here Abraham worshipped God, when "he turned back from the pursuit of the kings who had "plundered Sodom, and had carried away Lot."

In consequence of this notice, I visited the spot in the spring of 1862. The village lies at the entrance of the defile which penetrates into the hills at the N.W. corner of the Damascus plain on the road to Helbon. Through the defile rushes out a rivulet lined with verdure. A large walnut-tree stands in front of the irregular homely mosque which is built on the craggy side of the barren range. Its upper story is occupied by the chamber opening into the

[1] *Ant.* i. 7, § 2.

[2] *Five Years in Damascus*, i. 82.

sacred cavern; its lower story serves for the accommodation of pilgrims. I subjoin the account of it, and of the legend attached to it, from a letter of Mr. Robson, who afterwards kindly explored the mosque for me in detail: —

"We crossed a very small court, and entered a very plain "mosque about thirty feet long and eighteen or twenty feet "wide. It stands against the side of the mountain, and the "north part of the west wall is partly formed of the native "rock. At that part is a small square gallery from which "we walked into a narrow crooked passage in the rock. It "is a natural cleft from two to three feet wide, and extend- "ing twelve or fifteen feet into the hill. At the end of it, "where it is quite dark, there is some reddish clay, which is "regarded as peculiarly sacred, and visitors usually carry "away a little of it. There were inscriptions on the walls of "the mosque of the kind usually found in such places.

"The legend I shall briefly give as we heard it on the "spot. Nimrod was warned that a child to be born and to "be named Abraham would overthrow his power, and he "ordered his Wezeer to cause all women with child in his "dominions to be seized and the infants destroyed. The "Wezeer's daughter was married to Abraham's father, and "he desired his son-in-law to take care that his wife did not "become pregnant. She became pregnant notwithstanding, "but she successfully concealed her state from her father "and every one. When the time of her delivery came she "fled from her home in Bethlehem, and wandered on till "she came to Birzeh, when the cleft we saw opened before "her, and she entered and Abraham was born. It was then "that the clay was tinged red. Fearing Nimrod, she con- "cealed the infant in the hole for a long time, coming occa- "sionally from Bethlehem to nurse him.

"This story seems to be implicitly believed by the "attendants and visitors at the mosque, the villagers, and

"the common people of the city. It is, however, only a "vulgar legend. Literary Moslems disavow it. With them "the *Makam Ibrahim* is simply a *Mesjid* to Ibrahim— "a mosque or place of worship sacred or consecrated to "Abraham. This is all the learned say of the place. I "lately saw an Arabic MS. account of the Moslem holy "places in Syria, composed by a man who was judge (kâdy) "of Erzeroum, two or three hundred years ago. In this "book the place at Birzeh is described just as I have stated "above. Neither in it, nor in conversation, have I found "any reason assigned for the connection of the name of the "patriarch with the place, nor any tradition of his having "ever visited it.

"Learned Moslems are very strict and critical in judging "the claims of sacred graves and other holy places. For "instance, the grave of Mohammed is attested by a series "of legal documents, a new one being drawn up every year; "and this is the only grave of a prophet which they will "admit to be certainly known. Even the graves of the "patriarchs at Hebron are regarded as only the supposed and "probable resting places of those whose name they bear."

NOTE to p. 480.

Since this was printed, Dr. Beke has communicated an account of his journey to Harran-el-Awamîd to the Geographical Society. His description of the strongly marked character of the hills of Gilead, as the easternmost boundary of Palestine, is well worthy of notice.

APPENDIX II.

THE CAVE OF MACHPELAH.

In my Lecture on the History of Abraham (p. 35), I enlarged on the extraordinary interest attached to the Cave of Machpelah. At that time I little thought that I should ever be enabled to penetrate within the inaccessible sanctuary which surrounds it. This privilege I owe to the effort made by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in 1862, to obtain an entrance into the Mosque of Hebron; the success of which gave to his Eastern journey a peculiar value, such as has attached to the visit of no other European Prince to the Holy Land.

The Cave of Machpelah.

The Cave of Machpelah is described in the Book of Genesis with a particularity almost resembling that of a legal deed. The name of "Machpelah," or rather "the Machpelah," appears to have belonged to [1] the whole district or property, though it is applied sometimes to the [2] cave, and sometimes to the [3] field. The meaning of the word is quite uncertain, though that of [4] "double," which is adopted in all the ancient versions (almost always as if applied to the cave) is the most probable. In this "Machpelah" was a field, "a cultivated field," which belonged not to one of the Amorite chiefs — Aner, Eshcol, or Mamre, but to a Hittite, [5] Ephron the son of Zohar. The field was planted, as

[1] Gen. xxiii. 17. "The field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah."

[2] *Ibid.* 9; xxv. 9. "The cave of (the) Machpelah."

[3] *Ibid.* 19; xlix. 30; l. 13. "The field of (the) Machpelah."

[4] "Spelunca duplex," Vulgate. τὸ σπήλαιον, τὸ διπλοῦν, LXX. *passim.* Syriac, *passim*, except in Gen. l. 13, where it is rendered "the double field."

[5] Gen. xxiii. 8; xxv. 9.

most of those around the vale of Hebron, with trees; olives, terebinths, or ilexes. At one "[1] end," probably the upper end, was a cave. The whole place was "in the [2] face of Mamre," that is, as it would seem, opposite the oaks or terebinths of Mamre, the Amorite, where Abraham had pitched his tent. In this case, it would be immediately within view of his encampment; and the open mouth of the cave must be supposed to have attracted his attention long before he made the proposal which ended in his purchase of this, his first and only property in the Holy Land. "There they buried Abraham and "Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his "wife; and there," according to the dying speech of the last of the Patriarchs, "Jacob buried Leah;" and there he himself was [3] buried "in the cave of the field of Machpelah, "which Abraham bought for a possession of a burial-place "from Ephron the Hittite before [4] Mamre."

This is the last Biblical notice of the Cave of Machpelah. It is remarkable that after the close of the Book of Genesis, no mention is made of it in the Scriptures. Even in the New Testament, by a singular variation, in the speech of [5] Stephen, the tomb at Shechem is substituted for it. It is not even mentioned in the account of Caleb's conquest of Hebron, nor of David's reign there. The only possible allusion is the statement in [6] Absalom's life, that he had vowed a pilgrimage to Hebron.

But the formal and constant allusion to it in the Book

[1] Gen. xxiii. 9.

[2] This interpretation of the words "before" or "in the face of" Mamre, would require that Mamre should be on the hill immediately to the south of the modern town of Hebron. It must be remembered that such a position is inconsistent with the traditional locality either of the existing "oak" of Abraham, or (what is more important) of the place of the sacred "terebinth" worshipped as the spot of his encampment, five miles to the north of Hebron. The Vulgate translates the words, "*e regione.*"

[3] Gen. xlix. 30.

[4] *Ibid.* l. 13.

[5] Acts vii. 16.

[6] 2 Sam. xv. 7.

of Genesis is a sufficient guarantee not only for a spot of that name having existed from early times, but also for its having been known at the time of the composition, and of the introduction of the Book into the Jewish Canon. That cannot be earlier, on any hypothesis, than the time of Moses, nor later than the times of the Monarchy.

The Enclosure.

We are not left, however, entirely in the dark. Josephus, in his "Antiquities," tells us that there [1] were "monuments built there by Abraham and his descendants"; and in his "Jewish War," that "the monuments of Abraham and his sons" (apparently alluding to those already mentioned in the Antiquities) "were still shown at Hebron, of beautiful marble, and admirably [2] worked." These [3] monuments can hardly be other than what the "Bourdeaux Pilgrim," in A. D. 333, describes as "a quadrangle of stones of astonishing beauty;" and these again are clearly those which exist at the present day — the massive enclosure of the Mosque. The tradition, thus carried up unquestionably to the age of Josephus, is in fact carried by the same argument much higher. For the walls, as they now stand, and as Josephus speaks of them, must have been built before his time. The terms which he uses imply this, and he omits to mention them amongst the works of Herod the Great, the only potentate who could or would have built them in his time, and amongst whose buildings they must have occupied, if at all, a distinguished place. But, if not erected by Herod, there is then no period at which we can stop short of the Monarchy. So elaborate and costly a structure is inconceivable in the disturbed and impoverished state of the nation after the Return. It is to the kings, at least, that the walls must be referred, and, if so, to none so likely as the sovereigns to whom they are ascribed

[1] *Ant.* i. 14.
[2] *B. J.* iv. 9, § 7.
[3] For the later list of witnesses see Robinson's *B. R.* ii. 77, 78.

by Jewish and [1] Mussulman tradition,—David or Solomon. Beyond this we can hardly expect to find a continuous proof. But by this time, we have almost joined the earlier tradition implied in the reception of the Book of Genesis, with its detailed local description, into the Jewish Sacred Books.

With this early origin of the present enclosure its [2] appearance fully agrees. With the long continuity of the tradition agrees also the general character of Hebron and its vicinity. There is no spot in Palestine, except, perhaps, Mount Gerizim, where the *genius loci* has been so slightly disturbed in the lapse of centuries. There is already a savour of antiquity in the earliest mention of Hebron, "built seven years before [3] Zoan in Egypt." In it the names of the [4] Amorite inhabitants were preserved long after they had perished elsewhere; and from the time that the memory of Abraham first begun to be cherished there it seems never to have ceased. The oak, the "antediluvian [5] oak," "the Terebinth, as old as the [6] Creation," were

[1] The Mussulman name at the present day for the enclosure is "the wall of Solomon."

[2] The peculiarities of the masonry are these:—(1.) Some of the stones are very large; Dr. Wilson mentions one 38 feet long, and 3 feet 4 inches deep; others are 16 feet long, and 5 feet high. The largest in the Haram wall at Jerusalem is 24½ feet. But yet (2) the surface, in splendid preservation, is very finely worked, more so than the finest of the stones at the south and south-west portion of the enclosure at Jerusalem; the sunken part round the edges (sometimes called the "bevel") very shallow, with no resemblance at all to more modern "rustic work." (3.) The cross joints are not always vertical, but some are oblique. (4.) The wall is divided by pilasters about 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 5 feet apart, running the entire height of the ancient wall. There are eight of these pilasters at the ends, and sixteen at the sides of the enclosure. These observations are taken partly from Mr. Grove, who visited Hebron in 1859, partly from Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 75, 76). The length and breadth are given by Dr. Robinson respectively at 200 and 150 feet, by Signor Pierotti at 198½ and 113½ feet, who also makes the ancient wall 48 feet high, and 6½ feet thick.

[3] Num. xiii. 22.

[4] Judg. i. 10.

[5] *Ant.* i. 10. § 4, *τὴν Ὠγύγην καλουμενὴν δρῦν.* Dr. Rosen conjectures that this is the oak still shown under the name of Sibteh.

[6] *B. J.* iv. 9, § 7.

shown in the time of Josephus. The Terebinth gave to the spot where it stood the name which lingers there down to the [1] present day, centuries after the tree itself has disappeared. The fair held beneath it, the worship offered, shows that the Patriarch was regarded almost as a Divinity. His name became identified not only with the sepulchral quadrangle, "The Castle of Abraham," but with the whole place. The Mussulman name of "El-khalîl," "The Friend" (of God), has as completely superseded in the native population the Israelite name of "Hebron," as the name of "Hebron" had already superseded the Canaanite name of "Kirjath-arba." The town itself, which in ancient times must have been at some distance (as is implied in the original account of the purchase of the burial-place) from the sepulchre, has descended from the higher ground on which it was formerly situated, and clustered round the tomb which had become the chief centre of attraction. A similar instance may be noted in the name of El-Lazarieh, applied to Bethany, from the reputed tomb of Lazarus, round which the modern village has gathered. In our own country a parallel may be observed at St. Alban's. The town of Verulam has crossed the river from the northern bank on which it formerly stood, and has climbed the southern hill in order to enclose the grave of S. Alban, whose name, in like manner, has entirely superseded that of the original Verulam.

For the sake of this sacred association, the town has become one of the Four Holy Places of Islam and of Judaism — the other three in the sacred group being, in the case of Islam, Mecca, Medinah, and Jerusalem; in the case of Judaism, Jerusalem, Safed, and Tiberias. The Mosque is said to have been founded and adorned in the successive reigns of Sultan

[1] The field immediately north-east of the building called Ramet-el-Khalil, is known by the name of the "Halkath-el-Butm," "Field of the Terebinth."

Kelaoun, and of his son Naser-Mohammed, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its property consists of some of the best land in the plains of Sharon and Philistia.

But of all the proofs of the sanctity of the place the most remarkable is the impenetrable mystery in which the sanctuary has been involved, being in fact a living witness of the unbroken local veneration with which the three religions of Jew, Christian, and Mussulman have honoured the great Patriarch. The stones of the enclosure have, as has been said, been noticed from the time of Josephus downwards. The long roof of the Mosque, the upper part of its windows, the two minarets at the south-west and north-east corners rising above the earlier and later walls of the enclosure, have been long familiar to travellers. But what lay within had, till within the present year, been a matter if not of total ignorance, yet of uncertainty more provoking than ignorance itself. There were confused [1] accounts of an early Christian Church, of a subsequent mosque, of the cave and its situation, which transpired through widely contradictory statements of occasional Jewish and Christian pilgrims, Antoninus, Arculf, and Sæwulf, Benjamin of Tudela, and Maundeville. For the six hundred years since the Mussulman occupation, in A.D. 1187, no European, except by stealth, was known to have set foot within the sacred precincts. Three accounts alone of such visits have been given in modern times; one, extremely brief and confused, by Giovanni Finati, an Italian servant of Mr. Bankes, who entered [2] as a Mussulman; a second, by an English clergyman, Mr. Monro, who, however, does not profess to speak from his own [3] testimony; a third, by far the most distinct, by the Spanish

[1] Of these there is a collection in the Appendix to Quatremère's Translation of the History of the Mamelook Sultans of Egypt, published by the Oriental Translation Fund, vol. i. part ii. p. 239–242.

[2] *Travels* of Finati, 1830, ii. 236.

[3] *Summer Ramble in Syria*, 1835, i. 242.

renegade [1] Badia, or "Ali Bey." While the other sacred places in Palestine,—the Mosque at Jerusalem, within the last ten years, the Mosque of Damascus, within the last two years—have been thrown open, at least to distinguished travellers, the Mosque of Hebron still remained, even to royal personages, hermetically sealed.

To break through this mystery, to clear up this uncertainty, even irrespectively of the extraordinary interest attaching to the spot, was felt by those most concerned, to be an object not unworthy of the first visit of a Prince of Wales to the Holy Land.

The Visit of the Prince of Wales.

From the moment that the expedition was definitively arranged in January 1862, it was determined by His Royal Highness and his advisers, that the attempt should be made, if it were found compatible with prudence, and with the respect due to the religious feelings of the native population. On arriving at Jerusalem, the first enquiry was, as to the possibility of accomplishing this long-cherished design. Mr. Finn, the English Consul, had already prepared the way, by requesting a Firman from the Porte for this purpose. The Government at Constantinople, aware of the susceptible fanaticism of the population of Hebron, sent, instead of a direct order, a Vizierial letter of recommendation to the Governor of Jerusalem, leaving in fact the whole matter to his discretion. The Governor, Sûraya Pasha,—partly from the natural difficulties of the proposed attempt, partly, it may be, from his own personal feeling on the subject,—held out long and strenuously against taking upon himself the responsibility of a step which had hitherto no precedent. Even as lately as the preceding year, he had resisted the earnest entreaty of a distinguished French scholar and antiquary, though armed with the recommendations of his own

[1] *Travels* of Ali Bey (1803—1807), ii. 232.

government and of Fuâd Pasha, then Turkish Commissioner in Syria. The negotiation devolved on General Bruce, the Governor of the Prince of Wales, assisted by the interpreter of the party, Mr. Noel Moore, son of the Consul-General of Beyrût. It may truly be said,—as it was in enumerating the qualifications of the lamented General after his death,—that the tact and firmness which he showed on this occasion were worthy of the first ranks of diplomacy. Many grave political difficulties might, in other and grander spheres, have been unlocked by the dexterity with which he forced open the Mosque of Hebron.

Sûraya Pasha offered every other civility or honour that could be paid. The General took his position on the ground, that since the opening of the other Holy Places, this was the one honour left for the Turkish Government to award to the rare privilege of a visit of the Prince of Wales. He urged, too, the feeling with which the request was made: that we, as well as they, had a common interest in the Patriarchs common to both Religions; and that nothing was claimed beyond what would be accorded to Mussulmans themselves. At last the Pasha appeared to give way. But a new alarm arising out of a visit of the Royal party to the shrine commonly called the Tomb of David, in Jerusalem, complicated the question again, and the Pasha finally declared that the responsibility was too serious, and that, unless the General actually insisted upon it, he could not undertake to guarantee the Prince's safety from the anger either of the population or of the Patriarchs themselves. "So strong "is our sentiment on this subject," he said, "that, when some "time ago the Prophet's Tomb at Medina needed repairs, and "a recompense was offered to anyone who would under-"take the repairs, a man was with difficulty found for the "task; he went in, he performed his work, he returned,— "and was immediately put to death: that was considered to

"be the only adequate recompense for so sacrilegious an "errand." It was an anxious moment for the Prince's advisers. On the one hand, there was the doubt, now seriously raised, as to the personal safety of the attempt, which, though it hardly entered into the Prince's own calculation, was a paramount question for those who were charged with the responsibility of the step. On the other hand, the point having been once raised, could not be lightly laid aside; the more so, as it was strongly felt that to allow of a refusal in the case of the Prince of Wales, would establish an impregnable precedent against future relaxations, and close the doors of the Mosque more firmly than ever against all inquirers. General Bruce adopted a course which ultimately proved successful. He announced to the Pasha the extreme displeasure of the Prince at the refusal, and declared his intention of leaving Jerusalem instantly for the Dead Sea; adding that, if the sanctuary at Hebron could not be entered, the Prince would decline to visit Hebron altogether. We started immediately on a three days' expedition. On the evening of the first day, it was found that the Pasha had followed us. He sent to reopen the negotiations, and offered to make the attempt, if the numbers were limited to the Prince and two or three of the suite, promising to go himself to Hebron to prepare for the event. This proposal was guardedly, but decisively accepted. And accordingly, on our return to Jerusalem, instead of going northwards immediately, the plan was laid for the enterprise.

It was early on the morning of Monday the 7th of April, that we left our encampment, and moved in a southerly direction. The object of our journey was mentioned to no one. On our way, we were joined by Dr. Rosen, the Prussian Consul at Jerusalem, well known to travellers in Palestine, from his profound knowledge of sacred geography, and, in this instance, doubly valuable as a companion,

from the special attention which he had paid to the topography of [1] Hebron and its neighbourhood. Before our arrival at Hebron, the Pasha had made every preparation to ensure the safety of the experiment. What he feared was, no doubt, a random shot or stone from some individual fanatic, some Indian pilgrim, such as are well known to hang about these sacred places, and who might have held his life cheap at the cost of avenging what he thought an outrage on the sanctities of his religion. Accordingly, as our long cavalcade wound through the narrow valley by which the town of Hebron is approached, underneath the walls of those vineyards on the hill sides, which have made the vale of Eshcol immortal, the whole road on either side for more than a mile was lined with soldiers. The native population, which usually on the Prince's approach to a town streamed out to meet him, was invisible, it may be from compulsion, it may be from silent indignation. We at length reached the green sward in front of the town, crowned by the Quarantine and the Governor's residence. There Sûraya Pasha received us. It had been arranged, in accordance with the Pasha's limitation of the numbers, that His Royal Highness should be accompanied, besides the General, by the two members of the party who had given most attention to Biblical pursuits, so as to make it evident that the visit was not one of mere curiosity, but had also a distinct scientific purpose. It was, however, finally conceded by the Governor, that the whole of the suite should be included, amounting to seven persons besides the Prince. The servants remained behind. We started on foot, two and two, between two files of soldiers, by the ancient pool of Hebron, up the narrow streets of the modern town, still lined with soldiers. Hardly a face was visible as we passed through; only here and there a solitary guard,

The Approach.

[1] See his two Essays in the *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xi. 50; xii. 489.

stationed at a vacant window, or on the flat roof of a projecting house, evidently to guarantee the safety of the party from any chance missile. It was, in fact, a complete military occupation of the town. At length we reached the south-eastern corner of the massive wall of enclosure, the point at which enquiring travellers from generation to generation have been checked in their approach to this, the most ancient and the most authentic of all the Holy Places of the Holy Land. "Here," said Dr. Rosen, "was the furthest limit of my researches." Up the steep flight of the exterior staircase—gazing close at hand on the polished surface of the wall, amply justifying Josephus's account of the marble-like appearance of the huge stones which compose it — we rapidly mounted. At the head of the staircase, which by its long ascent showed that the platform of the Mosque was on the uppermost slope of the hill, and therefore above the level where, if anywhere, the sacred cave would be found, a sharp turn at once brought us within the precincts, and revealed to us for the first time the wall from the inside. A later wall of Mussulman times has been built on the top of the Jewish enclosure. The enclosure itself, as seen from the inside, rises but a few feet [1] above the platform.

The Entrance of the Mosque.

Here we were received with much ceremony by five or six persons, corresponding to the Dean and Canons of a Christian cathedral. They were the representatives of the Forty hereditary guardians of the Mosque.

The Mosque.

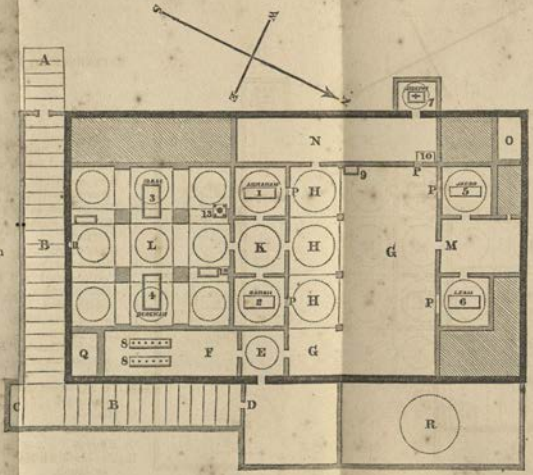
We passed at once through an open court into the Mosque. With regard to the building itself, two points at once became apparent. First, it was clear that it had been originally a Byzantine church. To anyone acquainted with the cathedral of S. Sophia at Constantinople, and with the monastic churches

[1] The expression of Arculf (*Early Travellers*, p. 7) that the precinct was surrounded by a low wall (*humili muro*) might be explained if we suppose that he was speaking of it as seen from the inside.

SKETCH PLAN OF THE MOSQUE AT HEBRON.

REFERENCE TO FIGURES.

1. Shrine of Abraham.
2. „ „ Sarah.
3. „ „ Isaac.
4. „ „ Rebekah.
5. „ „ Jacob.
6. „ „ Leah.
7. „ „ Joseph.
8. „ „ { Two Mohammadan Saints.
9. Fountain.
10. Raised platform.
11. *Mihrab.*
12. *Merhala** (or platform for the Muezzin).
13. Circular aperture leading to Cave.
14. *Minbar* (or pulpit).



REFERENCE TO LETTERS.

A. Flight of Steps to outer door.
B. Long narrow passage of easy steps, bounded on the left by ancient Jewish wall.
C. Fountain.
D. Here shoes are left at the door of a ceiled room.
E. Passage Chamber.
F. Mosque, containing two Shrines.
G. Outer Court.
H. Cloister of round arches, with domed roof. — The Outer Narthex.
K. Inner Narthex.
L. Nave of Byzantine Church.
M. Long, lofty Room, leading to circular Chamber, containing Shrines of Jacob and Leah.
N. Do., to that containing Shrine of Joseph.
O. Minaret.
P. Windows.
Q. Minaret.
R. The Jâwallyeh Mosque, built by Jâwali.

N.B. — The deep black lines mark the ancient Jewish Wall. The shaded parts are unknown.

The accompanying Plan was drawn up by my friend and fellow-traveller, the Hon. R. H. Meade, with the assistance of Dr. Rosen, immediately after the visit to the Mosque. It may be compared with the Sketches of the Mosque, given from the information of Mussulmans, in Osburn's *Palestine Past and Present*, and in the *Travels of Ali Bey*. I have also compared it with an unpublished Plan shown to me by the kindness of M. Pierotti. Between these various sketches there are several points of difference. But it has been thought best to give Mr. Meade's Plan as it was drawn up at the time, independently of any other authority.

* I have given the word *Merhala* as it was repeated at the time; the more so, as it agrees with the word *Meherel*, as used by Ali Bey (*Travels*, ii. 232). But I am informed by Arabic scholars that no such word, in this sense, exists. The platform, in question, is, as I am told by Mr. Lane, called *dikkeh* by the Arabs, and by the Turks, generally, *Mahfil*.

of Mount Athos, this is evident from the double narthex or portico, and from the four pillars of the nave. Secondly, it was clear that it had been converted at a much later period into a mosque. This is indicated by the pointed arches, and by the truncation of the apse. The transformation was said by the guardians of the Mosque to have been made by Sultan Kelaoun. The whole building occupies (to speak roughly) one-third of the platform. The windows are sufficiently high to be visible from without, above the top of the enclosing wall.

The Shrines of the Patriarchs.

I now proceed to describe the Tombs of the Patriarchs, premising always that these tombs, like all those in Mussulman mosques, and indeed like most tombs in Christian churches, do not profess to be the actual places of sepulture, but are merely monuments or cenotaphs in honour of the dead who lie beneath. Each is enclosed within a separate chapel or shrine, closed with gates or railings similar to those which surround or enclose the special chapels or royal tombs in Westminster Abbey. The two first of these shrines or chapels are contained in the inner portico or narthex, before the entrance into the actual building of the Mosque. In the recess on the right is the shrine of Abraham, in the recess on the left that of Sarah, each guarded by silver gates. The shrine of Sarah we were requested not to enter, as being that of a woman. A pall lay over it. The shrine of Abraham, after a momentary hesitation, was thrown open. The guardians groaned aloud. But their chief turned to us with the remark, "The princes of "any other nation should have passed over my dead body "sooner than enter. But to the eldest son of the Queen of "England we are willing to accord even this privilege." He stepped in before us, and offered an ejaculatory prayer to the dead Patriarch, "O Friend of God, forgive this intrusion." We then entered. The chamber is cased in marble. The

The Shrine of Sarah.

The Shrine of Abraham.

so-called tomb consists of a coffin-like structure, about six feet high, built up of plastered stone or marble, and hung with [1] three carpets, green embroidered with gold. They are said to have been presented by Mohamed II. the conqueror of Constantinople, Selim I. the conqueror of Egypt, and the late Sultan Abdul Mejid. Fictitious as the actual structure was, it was impossible not to feel a thrill of unusual emotion at standing on such a spot,—an emotion enhanced by the rare occasion which had opened the gates of that consecrated place, as the guardian of the Mosque kept repeating to us, as we stood round the tomb, "to no one less than the representative of England."

Within the area of the church or mosque were shown the tombs of Isaac and Rebekah. They are placed under separate chapels, in the walls of which are windows, and of which the gates are grated not with silver, but iron bars. Their situation, planted as they are in the body of the Mosque, may indicate their Christian origin. In almost all Mussulman sanctuaries, the tombs of distinguished persons are placed, not in the centre of the building, but in the [2] corners.

The Shrine of Rebekah.

To Rebekah's tomb the same decorous rule of the exclusion of male visitors naturally applied as in the case of Sarah's. But, on requesting to see the tomb of Isaac, we were entreated not

The Shrine of Isaac.

to enter; and on asking, with some surprise, why an objection which had been conceded for Abraham should be raised in the case of his far less eminent son, were answered that the difference lay in the characters of the two Patriarchs—"Abraham was full of loving-kindness; he had withstood even "the resolution of God against Sodom and Gomorrah; he

[1] In Ali Bey's time there were nine carpets. *Travels*, ii. 233.

[2] The arrangement, however, described by Arculf is somewhat different. He speaks of the bodies (probably meaning the tombs) lying north and south, whereas they are now east and west, under slabs of stone. The tombs of the wives he also describes as apart, and of a meaner construction.—*Early Travellers*, p. 7.

" was goodness itself, and would overlook any affront. But " Isaac was proverbially jealous, and it was exceedingly " dangerous to exasperate him. When Ibrahim Pasha [as " conqueror of Palestine] had endeavoured to enter, he had " been driven out by Isaac, and fell back as if thunderstruck."

The chapel, in fact, contains nothing of interest; but I mention this [1] story both for the sake of the singular sentiment which it expresses, and also because it well illustrates the peculiar feeling which has tended to preserve the sanctity of the place — an awe, amounting to terror, of the great personages who lay beneath, and who would, it was supposed, be sensitive to any disrespect shown to their graves, and revenge it accordingly.

The Shrine of Leah.

The shrines of Jacob and Leah were shown in recesses, corresponding to those of Abraham and Sarah — but in a separate cloister, opposite the entrance of the Mosque. Against Leah's tomb, as seen through the iron grate, two green banners reclined, the origin and meaning of which was unknown. They are placed in the pulpit on Fridays.

The Shrine of Jacob.

The gates of Jacob's tomb were opened without difficulty, though with a deep groan from the bystanders. There was some good painted glass in one of the windows. The structure was of the same kind as that in the shrine of Abraham, but with carpets of a coarser texture. Else it calls for no special remark.

Thus far the monuments of the Mosque adhere strictly to the Biblical account as given above. This is the more remarkable, because in these particulars the agreement is beyond what might have been expected in a Mussulman sanctuary. The prominence given to Isaac, whilst in entire accordance with the Sacred narrative, is against the tenor of Mussulman tradition, which exalts Ishmael into the first place.

[1] I have been unable to discover the origin of this legend.

And, in like conformity with the Sacred narrative, but unlike what we should have expected, had mere fancy been allowed full play, is the exclusion of the famous Rachel, and the inclusion of the insignificant Leah.

The Shrine of Joseph.

The variation which follows rests, as I am informed by Dr. Rosen, on the general tradition of the country (justified, perhaps, by an ambiguous expression of [1] Josephus) that the body of Joseph, after having been deposited first at Shechem, was subsequently transported to Hebron. But the peculiar situation of this alleged tomb agrees with the exceptional character of the tradition. It is in a domed chamber attached to the enclosure from the outside, and reached, therefore, [2] by an aperture broken through the massive wall itself, and thus visible on the exterior of the southern side of the wall. It is less costly than the others, and it is remarkable that, although the name of his wife (according to the Mussulman version, Zuleika) is inserted in the certificates given to pilgrims who have visited the Mosque, no grave having that appellation is shown. A staff was hung up in a corner of the chamber. There were painted windows as in the shrine of Jacob. According to the story told by the guardian of the Mosque, Joseph was buried in the Nile, and Moses recovered the

[1] "The bodies of the brothers of "Joseph after a time were buried by "their descendants in Hebron; but the "bones of Joseph afterwards, when the "Hebrews migrated from Egypt, were "taken to Canaan."—*Ant.* ii. 8, 2. This may be intended merely to draw a distinction as to the time of removal, but probably it refers also to a difference in the places of burial, and expresses nothing positive on the subject. In Acts vii. 15, 16, the sons of Jacob are represented as all equally buried at Shechem; but then it is with the perplexing addition that they were buried in the same place as *Jacob*, and "in "the sepulchre that *Abraham* bought "for a sum of money from the sons of "Emmor the father of Shechem." The burial of Joseph at Shechem is distinctly mentioned in Josh. xxiv. 32. "The bones of Joseph, which the chil-"dren of Israel brought up out of "Egypt, buried they *in Shechem*, in "'*the parcel of the field*' which Jacob "bought of the sons of Hamor the "father of Shechem for a hundred "pieces of silver; and it became the "inheritance of the sons of Joseph."

[2] This aperture was made by Dâhar Barkok, A.D. 1382—1389.—Quatremère, 247.

body, 1005 years afterwards, by marrying an Egyptian wife who knew the secret.

No other tombs were exhibited inside the Mosque. In a mosque on the northern side of the great Mosque were two shrines, resembling those of Isaac and Rebekah, which were afterwards explained to us as merely ornamental. On a platform immediately outside the Jewish wall on the north side, and seen from the hill rising immediately to the north-east of the Mosque, is the dome of a mosque named *Jawalîyeh*, said to have been built by the Emir Abou Said Sandjar Jâwali, from whom, of course, it derives its name, in the place of the tomb of Judas, or Judah, which he caused to be [1] destroyed.

The Mosque of Jâwali.

These are the only variations from the catalogue of tombs in the Book of Genesis. In the fourth century, the Bourdeaux pilgrim saw only the six great patriarchal shrines. But from the seventh century downwards, one or more lesser tombs seem to have been shown. Arculf speaks of the tomb of [2] Adam, "which is of meaner workmanship than the rest, "and lies not far off from them at the farthest extremity to "the north." If we might take this direction of the compass to be correct, he must mean either "the tomb of Judah" or one of the two in the northern mosque. This latter conjecture is confirmed by the statement of Maundeville that the

[1] A. D. 1319, 1320. Quatremère, i. part ii. p. 248.

[2] The tomb of Adam was shown as the "Fourth" of the "Four," who, with the three Patriarchs, were supposed to have given to Hebron the name of Kirjath-Arba, "the city of the Four." By a strange mistake which Jerome has perpetuated in the Vulgate translation, the word *Adam* in Joshua xxiv. 15, "a great *man* among the Anakims," has been taken by some of the Rabbis as a proper name. "Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est." That there was a fixed tradition about Adam in Hebron appears from the legend which represents a natural well in the hill facing the mosque as that in which Adam and Eve hid themselves after the flight from Paradise; and Hebron is also represented as the place of his creation. This was pointed out to Maundeville (*Early Travellers*, p. 161).

[1] tombs of Adam and Eve were shown; which would thus correspond to these two. The tomb of Joseph is first distinctly mentioned by Sæwulf, who says that "the bones of Joseph were buried more humbly than the rest, as it were at the extremity of the [2] castle." Mr. Monro describes further "a tomb of Esau, under a small cupola, with eight or ten "windows, excluded from lying with the rest of the [3] Patri-"archs." Whether by this he meant the tomb of Joseph, or the tomb of Judah, is not clear. A Mussulman tomb of Esau was shown in the suburb of Hebron called [4] *Sir*.

The tomb of Abner is shown in the town, and the tomb of Jesse on the hill facing Hebron on the south. But these have no connection with the Mosque, or the patriarchal burying-place.

The Sacred Cave.

We have now gone through all the shrines, whether of real or fictitious importance, which the Sanctuary includes. It will be seen that up to this point no mention has been made of the subject of the greatest interest, namely, the sacred cave itself, in which one at least of the patriarchal family may possibly still repose intact — the embalmed body of Jacob. It may be well supposed that to this object our enquiries were throughout directed. One indication alone of the cavern beneath was visible. In the interior of the Mosque, at the corner of the shrine of Abraham, was a small circular hole, about eight inches across, of which one foot above the pavement was built of strong masonry, but of which the lower part, as far as we could see and feel, was of the living rock.[5] This cavity appeared to open into a dark

[1] Maundeville (*Early Travellers*, p. 161).

[2] A.D. 1102 (*Early Travellers*, p. 45).

[3] *Summer Ramble*, i. 243.

[4] Quatremère, i. pt. ii. p. 319.

[5] This hole was not shown to Ali Bey, perhaps as being only an ordinary pilgrim. It is thus described by Mr. Monro or his informant:—"A baldachin, supported on four small columns over an octagon figure of black and white inlaid, round a small hole in the pavement" (i. 264). It is also mentioned by the Arab historians. "There is a vault that passes "for the burial-place of Abraham, in

space beneath, and that space (which the guardians of the Mosque believed to extend under the whole platform) can hardly be anything else than the ancient cavern of Machpelah. This was the only aperture which the guardians recognized. Once, they said, 2,500 years ago, a servant of a great king had penetrated through some other entrance. He descended in full possession of his faculties, and of remarkable corpulence; he returned blind, deaf, withered, and crippled. Since then the entrance was closed, and this aperture alone was left, partly for the sake of suffering the holy air of the cave to escape into the Mosque, and be scented by the faithful; partly for the sake of allowing a lamp to be let down by a chain which we saw suspended at the mouth, to burn upon the sacred grave. We asked whether it could not be lighted now? "No," they said; "the saint likes to have a lamp at night, but not in the full "daylight."

With that glimpse into the dark void we and the world without must for the present be satisfied. Whether any other entrance is known to the Mussulmans themselves, must be a matter of doubt. The original entrance to the cave, if it is now to be found at all, must probably be on the southern face of the hill, between the Mosque and the gallery containing the shrine of Joseph, and entirely obstructed by the ancient Jewish wall, probably built across it for this very purpose.

It seems to our notions almost incredible that Christians and Mussulmans, each for a period of 600 years, should

"which is a lamp always lighted. "Hence the common expression among "the people, 'the Lord of the *vault* "and the *lamp*'" (Quatremère, i. pt. ii. p. 247). "Near the tomb of Abra- "ham is a vault, where is a small gate "leading to the *minbar* (pulpit). Into "this hole once fell an idiot, who was "followed by the servants of the "Mosque. They saw a stone staircase "of fifteen steps, which led to the "*minbar*" (*Ibid.*) The lamp is also mentioned by Mr. Monro (i. p. 244), and by Benjamin of Tudela (see p. 503).

have held possession of the sanctuary, and not had the curiosity to explore what to us is the one object of interest — the cave. But the fact is undoubted that no account exists of any such attempt. Such a silence can only be explained (but it is probably a sufficient explanation) by the indifference which prevailed, throughout the Middle Ages, to any historical spots however interesting, unless they were actually consecrated as places of pilgrimage. The Mount of Olives, the site of the Temple of Solomon, the Rock of the Holy Sepulchre itself, were not thought worthy of even momentary consideration, in comparison with the chapels and stations which were the recognized objects of devotion. Thus at Hebron a visit to the shrines, both for Christians and Mussulmans, procures a certificate. The cave had therefore no further value. In the case of the Mussulmans this indifference is still more general. Sûraya Pasha himself, a man of considerable intelligence, professed that he had never thought of visiting the Mosque of Hebron for any other purpose than that of snuffing the sacred air, and he had never, till we arrived at Jerusalem, seen the wonderful convent of Mar Saba, or the Dead Sea, or the Jordan. And to this must be added, if not in his case, in that of Mussulmans generally, the terror which they entertain of the effect of the wrath of the Patriarchs on any one who should intrude into the place where they are supposed still to be in a kind of suspended animation. As far back as the seventeenth century it was firmly believed that if any Mussulman entered the cavern, immediate death would be the consequence.[1]

It should be mentioned, however, that two accounts are reported of travellers having obtained a nearer view of the cave than was accomplished in the visit of the Prince of Wales.

The first is contained in the pilgrimage of Benjamin

[1] Quaresmius, ii. 772.

of Tudela, the Jewish traveller of the twelfth century:— Benjamin of Tudela.
"The Gentiles have erected six sepulchres in this place,
"which they pretend to be those of Abraham and Sarah,
"Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah. The pilgrims are told
"that they are the sepulchres of the fathers, and money is
"extorted from them. But if any Jew comes, who gives an
"additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is
"opened, which dates from the time of our forefathers who
"rest in peace, and with a burning candle in his hands, the
"visitor descends into a first cave, which is empty, traverses a
"second in the same state, and at last reaches a third, which
"contains six sepulchres, those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,
"and of Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, one opposite the other.
"All these sepulchres bear inscriptions, the letters being
"engraved. Thus, upon that of Abraham we read:—'This
"'is the sepulchre of our father Abraham; upon whom be
"'peace,' and so on that of Isaac, and upon all the other
"sepulchres. A lamp burns in the cave and upon the sepul-
"chres continually, both night and day, and you there see
"tombs filled with the bones of Israelites — for unto this day
"it is a custom of the house of Israel to bring hither the
"bones of their saints and of their forefathers, and to leave
"them there."

In this [1] account, which, as may be observed, does not profess to describe Benjamin's own experience, there are two circumstances (besides its general improbability) which throw considerable doubt on its accuracy. One is the mention of inscriptions, and of an iron door, which, as is well known, are never found in Jewish sepulchres. The other is the mention of the practice of Jews sending their bones to be buried in a

[1] A somewhat similar account is given by Moawiyeh Ishmail, Prince of Aleppo,—that in A.D. 1089 the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were found; that many persons saw the bodies, preserved without change, and that in the cavern were arranged lamps of gold and silver (Quatremère, 245).

place, which, as is evident from the rest of the narrative, could only be entered with the greatest difficulty.

M. Ermete Pierotti.

The second account is that of M. Ermete Pierotti, who, having been an engineer in the Sardinian army, acted for some years as architect and engineer to Sûraya Pacha, at Jerusalem, and thus obtained, both in that city and at Hebron, access to places otherwise closed to Europeans. The following account appeared in the *Times* of April 30, 1862, immediately following on the announcement of the Prince's visit:—

"The true entrance to the Patriarchs' tomb is to be seen "close to the western wall of the enclosure, and near the "north-west corner; it is guarded by a very thick iron railing, "and I was not allowed to go near it. I observed that the "Mussulmans themselves did not go very near it. In the "court opposite the entrance gate of the Mosque, there is an "opening, through which I was allowed to go down for "three steps, and I was able to ascertain by sight and touch "that the rock exists there, and to conclude it to be about "five feet thick. From the short observations I could make "during my brief descent, as also from the consideration of "the east wall of the Mosque, and the little information I "extracted from the Chief Santon, who jealously guards the "sanctuary, I consider that a part of the grotto exists under "the Mosque, and that the other part is under the court, "but at a lower level than that lying under the Mosque. "This latter must be separated from the former by a verti- "cal stratum of rock which contains an opening, as I conclude, "for two reasons: first, because the east wall being entirely "solid and massive, requires a good foundation; secondly, "because the petitions which the Mussulmans present to the "Santon to be transmitted to the Patriarchs are thrown, "some through one opening, some through the other, "according to the Patriarch to whom they are directed; "and the Santon goes down by the way I went, whence I

"suppose that on that side there is a vestibule, and that the "tombs may be found below it. I explained my conjectures "to the Santon himself after leaving the Mosque, and he "showed himself very much surprised at the time, and told "the Pacha afterwards that I knew more about it than the "Turks themselves. The fact is, that even the Pacha who "governs the province has no right to penetrate into the "sacred enclosure, where (according to the Mussulman "legend) the Patriarchs are living, and only condescend to "receive the petitions addressed to them by [1]mortals."

It will be seen that this statement of the entrance of the Santon, or Sheykh of the Mosque, into the cave, agrees with the statement given in my [2]Lectures; "that the cave consists "of two compartments, into one of which a dervish or sheykh "is allowed to penetrate on special emergencies." Against this must be set the repeated assertions of the guardian of the Mosque, and of the Governor of Jerusalem, (which, as has been seen, are substantially confirmed by the Arab historians,) that no Mussulman has ever entered the cave within the memory of man. Of the staircase and gate described by M. Pierotti, there was no appearance on our visit, though we must have walked over the very spot — being, in fact, the pavement in front of the Mosque. Of the separate apertures for throwing down the petitions we also saw nothing. And it would seem from Finati's [3]account, that the one hole

[1] M. Pierotti adds (what has often been observed before) that "the Jews "who dwell in Hebron, or visit it, "are allowed to kiss, and touch a "piece of the sacred rock close to the "north-west corner, which they can "reach through a small aperture. To "accomplish this operation they are "obliged to lie flat on the ground, "because the aperture is on the ground "level." This, however, is merely an access to the rock, not to the cave.

[2] Lecture II. p. 35. This was founded on the information of our Mussulman servants in 1853. In 1862 I was unable to gain any confirmation of the story.

[3] "I went into a mosque at Hebron "and threw a paper down into a hole "that is considered to be the tomb of "Abraham, and according as the paper "lodges by the way, or reaches the "bottom it is looked upon as a sign of "good or ill-luck for the petitioner."— *Travels of Finati*, ii. p. 236.

down which he threw his petition was that by the tomb of Abraham.

Results of the Prince's visit.

The result of the Prince's visit will have been disappointing to those who expected a more direct solution of the mysteries of Hebron. But it has not been without its indirect benefits. In the first place, by His Royal Highness's entrance, the first step has been taken for the removal of the bar of exclusion from this most sacred and interesting spot. The relaxation may in future times be slight and gradual, and the advantage gained must be used with every caution; but it is impossible not to feel that some effect will be produced even on the devotees of Hebron when they feel that the Patriarchs have not suffered any injury or affront, and that even Isaac rests tranquilly in his grave. Even on our return to our encampment that evening, and in our rides in and around Hebron the next day, such an effect might be discerned. Dr. Rosen had predicted beforehand that if the entrance were once made, no additional precautions need be provided. "They will be so awestruck at the success of your "attempt, that they will at once acquiesce in it." And so in fact it proved. Although we were still accompanied by a small escort, yet the rigid vigilance of the previous day was relaxed, and no indications appeared of any annoyance or anger. And Englishmen may fairly rejoice that this advance in the cause of religious tolerance (if it may so be called) and of Biblical knowledge, was attained in the person of the heir to the English throne, out of regard to the position which he and his country hold in the Eastern world.

In the second place, the visit has enabled us to form a much clearer judgement of the value of the previous accounts, to correct their deficiencies and to rectify their confusion. The narrative of Ali Bey in particular, is now substantially corroborated. The existence and the exact situation of the cave underneath the floor of the Mosque,

the appearance of the ancient enclosure from within, the precise relation of the different shrines to each other, and the general conformity of the traditions of the Mosque to the accounts of the Bible and of early travellers, are now for the first time clearly ascertained. To discover the entrance of the cave, to examine the actual places of the patriarchal sepulture, and to set eyes (if so be) on the embalmed body of Jacob, the only patriarch the preservation of whose remains is thus described,—must be reserved for the explorers of another generation, for whom this visit will have been the best preparation.

General results.

Meanwhile, it may be worth while to recall the general instruction furnished by the nearer contemplation of this remarkable spot. The narrative itself to which it takes us back, stands alone in the Patriarchal history for the precision with which both locality and character are delineated. First, there is the death of Sarah in the city of Kirjath-Arba, whilst Abraham is [1] absent, apparently at Mamre. He comes to make the grand display of funeral grief, "mourning aloud and weeping aloud," such as would befit so great a death. He is filled with the desire, not Egyptian, not Christian, hardly Greek or Roman, but certainly Jewish, to thrust away the dark shadow that has fallen upon him, "to [2] bury his dead out of his sight." Then ensues the conference in the gate — the Oriental place of [3] assembly, where the negotiators and the witnesses of the transaction, as at the present day, are gathered from the many comers and goers through "the gate of the city." As in the Gentile traditions of Damascus, and as in the ancient narrative of the pursuit of the five kings, Abraham is saluted by the native inhabitants, not merely as a wandering shepherd, but as a "Prince [4] of God." The inhabitants are, as we might expect, not the Amorites, but the Hit-

[1] Gen. xxiii. 2.
[2] *Ibid.* 4.
[3] *Ibid.* 10.
[4] *Ibid.* 6, comp. Lecture I. 10; II. 43.

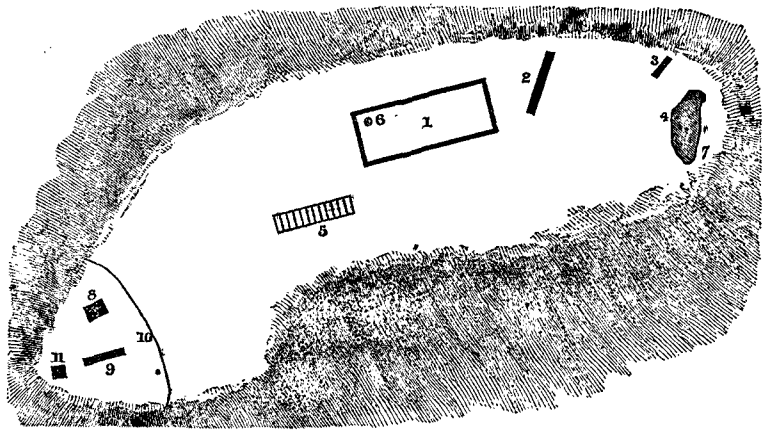
tites, whose name is that recognized by all the [1] surrounding nations. They offer him the most sacred of their sepulchres for the cherished [2] remains. The Patriarch maintains his determination to remain aloof from the Canaanite population, at the same time that he preserves every form of courtesy and friendliness, in accordance with the magnificent toleration and inborn gentleness which pervade his [3] character. First, as in the attitude of Oriental respect, "he stands," and then, twice over, he prostrates himself on the ground, before the heathen masters of the [4] soil. Ephron, the son of Zohar, is worthy of the occasion; his courtesy matches that of the Patriarch himself: — "The field *give* I thee, the cave "... *give* I thee; in the presence of the sons of my "people *give* I it thee." "What [5] is that betwixt thee and "me?" It is precisely the profuse liberality with which the Arab of the present time places everything in his possession at the disposal of the stranger. But the Patriarch, with the high independence of his natural character (shall we say, also, with the caution of his Jewish descendants?) will not be satisfied without a regular bargain. He "[6] weighs out" the coin. He specifies every detail in the property; not the field only, but the cave in the field, and the [7] trees in the field, and on the edge of the field, "were made sure." The result is the first legal contract recorded in human history, the first known interment of the dead, the first assignment of property to the Hebrew people in the Holy Land.[8]

To this graphic and natural scene, not indeed, by an absolute continuity of proof, but by such evidence as has been given above, the cave of Machpelah carries us back. And if

[1] See Lecture II. 28.
[2] Gen. xxiii. 6.
[3] See Lecture II. 40.
[4] Gen. xxiii. 7–12.
[5] *Ibid.* 13–15.
[6] *Ibid.* 16.
[7] *Ibid.* 17.
[8] Several of the above details are suggested by an excellent passage on this subject in Thomson's *Land and Book*, p. 577–579.

in the long interval which elapses between the description of the spot in the Book of Genesis (whatever date we assign to that description), and the notice of the present sanctuary by Josephus, so venerable a place and so remarkable a transaction are passed over without a word of recognition, this must, on any hypothesis, be reckoned amongst the many proofs that, in ancient literature, no argument can be drawn against a fact from the mere silence of authors, whether sacred or secular, whose minds were fixed on other subjects, and who were writing with another intention.

PLAN OF MOUNT GERIZIM.



1. Fortress.
2. Seven steps of Adam out of Paradise.
3. Scene of the offering of Isaac — a trough like that used for the Paschal Feast.
4. "Holy Place."
5. Joshua's Twelve Stones.
6. "Tomb of Sheykh Ghranem," or "Shechem ben Hamor."
7. "Cave where the Tabernacle was built."
8. Hole where the Paschal sheep are roasted.
9. Trench where they are eaten.
10. Platform for the celebration of the Passover.
11. Hole where the water is boiled.

APPENDIX III.

THE SAMARITAN PASSOVER.

THE [1] illustration which I have endeavoured to furnish of the original Jewish Passover, from the institution of the Samaritan Passover, was drawn from a description given to me in 1854 by Mr. [2] Rogers, now Consul at Damascus. During my late journey with the Prince of Wales, I was enabled myself to be present at its celebration, and I am induced to give a full account of it, the more so as it is evident that the ceremonial has been considerably modified since the time when it was first recounted to me. Even to that lonely community the influences of Western change have extended; and this is perhaps the last generation which will have the opportunity of witnessing this vestige of the earliest Jewish ritual.

The Samaritan Passover is celebrated at the same time as the Jewish — namely, on the full moon of the month Nisan. In the present instance, either by design or by a fortunate mistake, the Samaritan community had anticipated the 14th of the month by two days. It was on the evening of Saturday the 13th of April that we ascended Mount Gerizim, and visited the various traditional localities on the rocky platform which crowns that most ancient of sanctuaries. The whole community — amounting, it is said, to one hundred and fifty-two, from which hardly any variation has taken place within the memory of man — were encamped in tents on a level space, a few hundred yards [3] below the

[1] See Lecture V., p. 120.

[2] His account has since been printed in his sister's interesting work, *Domestic Life in Palestine*, 281.

[3] It is only within the last twenty years that the Samaritans (chiefly through the intervention of the English Consul) have regained the right, or

actual summit of the mountain, selected on account of its comparative shelter and seclusion. The [1] women were shut up in the tents. The men were assembled on the rocky terrace in sacred costume. In 1854 they all wore the same sacred costume. On this occasion most of them were in their ordinary dress. Only about fifteen of the elder men, amongst whom was the Priest [2] Amram, were clothed, as formerly was the case with the whole community, in long white robes. To these must be added six [3] youths, dressed in white shirts and white drawers. The feet both of these and of the elders were at this time of the solemnity bare. It was about half an hour before sunset, that the whole male community in an irregular form (those attired as has been described in a more regular order) gathered round a long trough that had been previously dug in the ground; and the Priest, ascending a large rough stone in front of the congregation, recited in a loud chant or scream, in which the others joined, prayers or praises chiefly turning on the glories of Abraham

The preparation.

rather the safety, of holding their festival on Mount Gerizim. For a long time before, they had celebrated the Passover like the modern Jews, and, as in the first celebration of the institution in Egypt, in their own houses. The performance of the solemnity on Gerizim is in strict conformity with the principle laid down in Deut. xvi. 15 — "Thou shalt keep a solemn feast in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose" — and with the practice which prevailed in Judæa till the fall of Jerusalem, of celebrating the Passover at the Temple.

[1] Those women who, by the approach of childbirth or other ceremonial reasons, were prevented from sharing in the celebration, remained in Nablûs.

[2] It is stated in Miss Rogers's *Domestic Life in Palestine* (249) that Amram is not properly a priest (the legitimate high priest — the last descendant, as they allege, of Aaron — having expired some years ago), and that he is only a Levite. He is, however, certainly called "the priest" (Cohen). He has two wives. The children of the first died in infancy, and he was therefore entitled, by Samaritan usage, to take a second. By her he has a son, Isâac. But, according to the Oriental law of succession, he will be succeeded in his office by his nephew Jacob, as the oldest of the family.

[3] These youths were evidently trained for the purpose; but whether they held any sacred office, I could not learn. In the Jewish ritual, the lambs were usually slain by the householders, but on great occasions (2 Chron. xxxv. 10) apparently by the Levites.

and Isaac. Their attitude was that of all Orientals in prayer; standing, occasionally diversified by the stretching out of the hands, and more rarely by kneeling or crouching, with their faces wrapt in their clothes and bent to the [1] ground, towards the Holy Place on the summit of Gerizim. The Priest recited his prayers by heart; the others had mostly books, in Hebrew and Arabic.

The Sacrifice.

Presently, suddenly, there appeared amongst the worshippers [2] six sheep, driven up by the side of the youths before mentioned. The unconscious innocence with which they wandered to and fro amongst the bystanders, and the simplicity in aspect and manner of the young men who tended them, more recalled a pastoral scene in Arcadia, or one of those inimitable patriarchal *tableaux* represented in the Ammergau Mystery, than a religious ceremonial. The sun, meanwhile, which hitherto had burnished up the Mediterranean in the distance, now sank very nearly to the farthest western ridge overhanging the plain of Sharon. The recitation became more vehement. The Priest turned about, facing his brethren, and the whole history of the Exodus from the beginning of the Plagues of Egypt was rapidly, almost furiously, chanted. The sheep, still innocently playful, were driven more closely together. The setting sun now touched the ridge. The [3] youths burst into a wild murmur of their own, drew forth their long bright knives, and brandished them aloft. In a moment, the sheep were thrown on their backs, and the flashing knives rapidly drawn across their throats. Then a few convulsive but silent struggles, — "as a sheep — dumb — that openeth not his mouth," — and the six forms lay lifeless on the ground,

[1] Compare the attitude of Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 42; xix. 13).

[2] *Seven* sheep is the usual number. —*Domestic Life in Palestine*, 250.

[3] "The whole assembly shall kill it "'between the two evenings'" (Ex. xii. 6). "Thou shalt sacrifice the Passover at evening, at the going down of the sun" (Deut. xvi. 6).

the blood streaming from them; the one only Jewish Sacrifice lingering in the world. In the blood the young men dipped their fingers, and a small spot was marked on the foreheads and noses of the children. A few years ago, the red stain was placed on all. But this had now dwindled away into the present practice, preserved, we were told, as a relic or emblem of the whole. Then, as if in congratulation at the completion of the ceremony, they all kissed each other, in the Oriental fashion, on each side of the head.

The next process was that of the [1] fleecing and roasting of the slaughtered animals, for which the ancient Temple furnished such ample provisions. Two holes on the mountain side had been dug, one at some distance, of considerable depth, the other, close to the scene of the Sacrifice, comparatively shallow. In this latter cavity, after a short prayer, a fire was kindled, out of a mass of dry heath, juniper, and briers, such as furnish the materials for the conflagration in Jotham's Parable, delivered not far from this very spot. Over the fire were placed two cauldrons full of water. Whilst the water boiled, the congregation again stood round, and (as if for economy of time) continued the recitation of the Book of Exodus, and bitter herbs were handed round wrapped in a strip of unleavened bread: "with "unleavened bread and with bitter herbs shall they [2] eat it." Then was chanted another short prayer. After which the six youths again appeared, poured the boiling water over the sheep, and plucked off their fleeces. The [3] right forelegs of the sheep, with the entrails, were thrown aside and burnt. The liver was carefully put back. Long

[1] In the ancient Jewish ritual the lambs were skinned, as in western countries (2 Chron. xxxv. 11; Mishna, *Pesachim*, ch. v. 9). The process, as above described, was like that of our mode of taking off the hair from pigs after they have been killed.

[2] Ex. xii. 8.

[3] The right shoulder and the hamstrings (*Domestic Life in Palestine*, 250).

poles were brought, on which the animals were spitted; near the bottom of each pole was a transverse peg or stick, to prevent the body from slipping off. As no part of the body is transfixed by this cross-stake — as, indeed, the body hardly impinges on it at all — there is at present but a very slight resemblance to a crucifixion. But it is possible that in earlier times the legs of the animal may have been more directly attached to the transverse beam. So at least the Jewish rite is described by Justin Martyr — "The "Paschal Lamb, that is to be roasted, is roasted in a form "like to that of the Cross. For one spit is thrust through "the animal from head to tail, and another through its "breast, to [1] which its forefeet are attached." He naturally saw in it a likeness of the Crucifixion. But his remark, under any view, is interesting; first, because, being a native of Nablûs, he probably drew his notices of the Passover from this very celebration; which, as it would thus appear, has, even in this minute particular, been but very slightly modified since he saw it in the second century; and, also, because, as he draws no distinction between this rite and that of the Jews in general, it confirms the probability that the Samaritan Passover is on the whole a faithful representation of the Jewish. That the spit was run right through the body of the animal in the Jewish ritual, and was of wood, as in the Samaritan, is clear from the account in the [2] Mishna.

The sheep were then carried to the other hole already mentioned, which was constructed in the form of the usual oven (*tannûr*) of Arab villages — a deep circular pit sunk in the earth, with a fire kindled at the bottom. Into this the sheep were thrust down (it is said, but this I could not see),

[1] *Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 40.

[2] *Pesachim*, ch. vi. 7. It was to be wood, not iron, in order that the roasting might be entirely "by fire," and not by the hot iron; and the wood was to be pomegranate, as not emitting any water, and so not interfering with the roasting. Whether the spits on Gerizim were of pomegranate I did not observe.

with care, to prevent the bodies from impinging on the sides, and so being roasted by anything but the [1] fire. A hurdle was then put over the mouth of the pit, well covered with wet earth, so as to seal up the oven till the roasting was completed. "They [2] shall eat the flesh in that night roast with fire. Eat "not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast with fire."

The ceremonial up to this time occupied about two hours. It was now quite dark, and the greater part of the community and of our company retired to rest. Five hours or more elapsed in silence, and it was not till after midnight that the announcement was made, that the feast was about to begin. The Paschal moon was still bright and high in the heavens. The whole male community was gathered round the mouth of the oven, and with reluctance allowed the intrusion of any stranger to a close inspection; a reluctance which was kept up during the whole of this part of the transaction, and contrasted with the freedom with which we had been allowed to take part in the earlier stages of the ceremony. It seemed as if the rigid exclusiveness of the ancient Paschal ordinance here came into play — "A "foreigner [3] shall not eat thereof; no uncircumcised person "shall eat thereof."

Suddenly the covering of the hole was torn off, and up rose into the still moonlit sky a vast column of smoke and steam; recalling, with a shock of surprise, that, even by an accidental coincidence, Reginald Heber should have so well caught this striking feature of so remote and unknown a ritual —

"*Smokes* on Gerizim's Mount, Samaria's sacrifice."

Out of the pit were dragged, successively, the six sheep, on their long spits, black from the oven. The outlines of their

[1] Mishna, *Pesachim*, vi. 7.
[2] Ex. xii. 8, 9.
[3] Ex. xii. 45, 48.

heads, their ears, their legs, were still visible —"his head with "his legs, and with the [1] inward parts thereof." They were hoisted aloft and then thrown on large square brown mats, previously prepared for their reception, on which we were carefully prevented from treading, as also from touching even the extremities of the spits. The bodies thus wrapt in the mats were hurried down to the trench where the Sacrifice had taken place, and laid out upon them in a line between two files of the Samaritans. Those who had before been dressed in white robes still retained them, with the addition now, of shoes on their feet and staves in their hands, and ropes round their waists — "Thus shall ye eat it; with your loins girded, your shoes on "your feet, your staff in [2] your hand." The recitation of prayers or of the Pentateuch recommenced, and continued, till it suddenly terminated in their all sitting down on their haunches, after the Arab fashion at meals, and beginning to eat. This, too, is a deviation from the practice of only a few years since, when they retained the Mosaic ritual of standing whilst they ate. The actual feast was conducted in rapid silence as of men in hunger, as no doubt most of them were, and so as soon to consume every portion of the blackened masses, which they tore away piecemeal with their fingers — "Ye shall eat in [3] haste." There was a general merriment, as of a hearty and welcome meal. In ten minutes all was gone but a few remnants. To the Priest and to the women, who, all but two (probably his two wives), remained in the tents, separate morsels were carried round. The remnants were gathered into the mats, and put on a wooden grate or hurdle over the hole where the water had been originally boiled; the fire was again lit, and a huge bonfire was kindled. By its blaze, and by candles lighted for the

[1] Ex. xii. 9.
[2] *Ibid.* 11.
[3] *Ibid.* 11. The hasty *snatching* which I had heard described, I was unable to recognize.

purpose, the ground was searched in every direction, as for the consecrated particles of sacramental elements; and these fragments of the flesh and bone were thrown upon the burning mass. "Ye shall let nothing remain until the "morning; and that which remaineth until the morning ye "shall burn with fire." "There shall not anything of the "flesh which thou sacrificest the first day at even remain all "night until the morning." "Thou shalt not carry forth "ought of the flesh abroad out of the [1] house." The flames blazed up once more, and then gradually sank away. Perhaps in another century the fire on Mount Gerizim will be the only relic left of this most interesting and ancient rite. By the early morning the whole community had descended from the mountain, and occupied their usual habitations in the town. "Thou shalt turn in the morning, and go unto thy [2] tents."

With us it was the morning of Palm Sunday, and it was curious to reflect by what a long gradation of centuries the simple ritual of the English Church — celebrated then, from the necessity of the case, with more than its ordinary simplicity — had grown up out of the wild, pastoral, barbarian, yet still instructive, commemoration, which we had just witnessed, of the escape of the sons of Israel from the yoke of the Egyptian King.

[1] Ex. xii. 10, 46; Deut. xvi. 4.

[2] Deut. xvi. 7.

NOTE ON LECTURE VI.

NEARLY the whole of this work was in substance written, and a large portion of it printed, before the spring of this year, when it was suddenly interrupted by the unexpected suspension of my Professorial duties, consequent on my journey to the East. It is thus altogether irrespective of any of the works which have been recently published on the criticism and the history of the Old Testament; and it would have been beside the purpose of the work, as laid down in the Preface, to engage in any personal controversy or detailed investigation arising out of the topics which may have been there discussed. It may, however, be due to the interest excited by one of the works to which I allude, to state in a very few words its bearing on the subject of the present volume.

The arithmetical errors which have been pointed out (with greater force and in greater detail than heretofore, but not for the first time, by eminent divines and scholars) in the narrative of the Old Testament, are unquestionably inconsistent with the popular hypothesis of the uniform and undeviating accuracy of the Biblical history, or with the ascription of the whole Pentateuch to a contemporaneous author. But, on the other hand, the recognition of these errors would remove at one stroke some of the main difficulties of the Mosaic narrative. By such a reduction of the numbers as Laborde, for example, or Kennicott [1] propose, many of the perplexities [2] in the story of the Exodus at once disappear, and the incredibility of one part of the narrative thus becomes a direct argument in favour of the probability of the rest. And the parallel instance of a like tendency to the amplification of numbers in Josephus' "Wars of the Jews" is a decisive proof of the compatibility of such amplifications, not, indeed, with an exact or literal, but with a substantially historical, narrative, of the series of events in which these errors are embedded. No doubt, to those who regard

[1] See Lecture V., p. 122, and Lecture XVII., p. 380. [2] See Lecture VI.

the least error in the Sacred History as fatal to the credibility and value of the whole of the Bible, and to the Christian Faith itself, such discoveries are full of alarm. But, if we extend to the narrative of the different parts of the Old Testament the same laws of criticism which we apply to other histories, especially to Oriental histories, its very errors and defects may be reckoned amongst its safeguards, and at any rate are guides to the true apprehension of its meaning and its intention. From an honest enquiry, such as that which has suggested these remarks, and from a calm discussion of the points which it raises, the cause of Religion has everything to gain and nothing to lose.

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